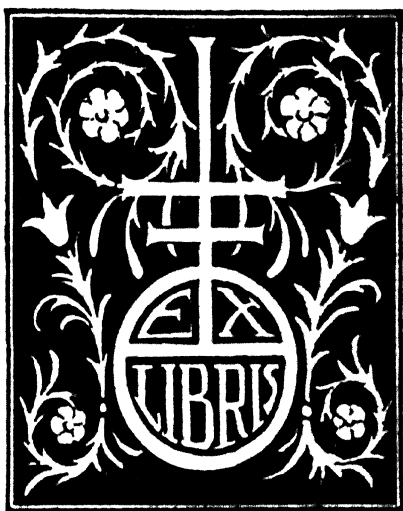



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DOROTHY THOMPSON



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Let the Record Speak

LET THE RECORD SPEAK

By DOROTHY THOMPSON

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This Book

THIS book was written over a period of three years — from the spring of 1936 to the spring of 1939. It was never intended as a book at all. It started because the author contracted to write a column three times a week on world affairs. And it is not yet ended — this book. It merely stops, to give the author and her readers a holiday. The events with which it deals go on; the forces which it describes continue in conflict; changes occur; weights are shifted and balances disturbed, but nothing is resolved. The drama, upon which this collection of papers is a running, chronological comment, plays upon the stage of the world and is recorded in our daily newspapers: it is the drama of the conflict between the aims and ideas of great nations of men and women.

These papers — columns, broadcasts, occasionally a speech — were written under the pressure of news. They are only the comments of one journalist upon the main events in Europe during the past three years. Yet they have the unity of a fairly consistent argument, and it is because they have that unity, and present that argument from day to day, that it has seemed worth while to collect them and let them speak as a whole, even at the risk of often being repetitive.

In so far as the commentator has accurately gauged the importance of events, and foreseen the results of policies, it is because she has adhered to a few fundamental convictions, and has considered events in the light of certain principles. Where she

has been wrong — and there are examples of overemphasis or erroneous interpretation included in this volume — it has been because she has weakened in those convictions or departed from those principles.

The first of those convictions was that the National Socialist revolution in Germany would prove to be the most world-disturbing event of the century and perhaps of many centuries; that it would affect the whole of Europe and the political structure of that Continent, and eventually lead to a modification of the social order with serious repercussions on the whole world; that it was not, in its nature, a specifically German phenomenon, but was a fusion of elements that are present in the minds of men and women everywhere, and since it was one answer to political, social, and economic problems that everywhere are pressing for solution, the realization of its importance was urgently necessary.

The second conviction grew out of the first. For years Italian Fascism justified its claim that it was not an export article. But from the beginning, the author has been convinced that National Socialism was designed for export; that Nazi Germany would found a 'Fascintern,' with the object of taking over the world-revolutionary rôle once assumed by the Comintern; and that in this capacity, it would be enormously more efficient, shrewd, brutal, and successful than Communism ever was.

The third conviction was that there is a fundamental incompatibility between any form of social order based upon political and economic freedom, and the dynamic, aggrandizing Fascism of Nazi Germany. The civilization that we have must undergo profound modification. But National Socialism is not modification; it is the total revolution.

In its repudiation of the whole past of western man, it is far more 'radical' than Communism, which, at least, pays lip-service in however distorted a form to certain humane ideas inherited from Christianity and from the French Revolution.

It is, more than Communism, a complete break with Reason, with Humanism, and with the Christian ethics that are at the base of liberalism and democracy. It is, like Communism, a break with the ethic or science that elevates the search for truth into the noblest of human passions. Much more than Communism — in theory, if not in practice — it denies the very concept of the inviolability of human personality, and unlike Communism considers all of life as the unremitting struggle of tribal groups for biological survival.

In its joyful destruction of all previous standards; in its wild affirmation of the 'Drive of the Will'; in its Oriental acceptance of death as the fecundator of life and of the will to death as the true heroism, it is darkly nihilistic. Placing will above reason; the ideal over reality; appealing, unremittingly, to totem and taboo; elevating tribal fetishes; subjugating and destroying the common sense that grows out of human experience; of an oceanic boundlessness, Naziism — that has been my consistent conviction — is the enemy of whatever is sunny, reasonable, pragmatic, common-sense, freedom-loving, life-affirming, form-seeking, and conscious of tradition.

Therefore, I have believed that the conflict would be conjoined, certainly in the realm of ideas and probably by force, not in the East but in the West. And I have believed that, sooner or later, by force or diplomacy, by political means or military means, the western world would have to take a stand against the Nazi challenge.

Out of this conviction regarding the nature of National Socialism, both as a system of ideas and as a formula for power, has grown the belief that it cannot be appeased; it can only be opposed. Appeasement, I have believed, would only strengthen it, never satisfy it, and breed in it an enormous mocking contempt for the world it would destroy.

In this conviction I have been strengthened by the most careful

and continuous perusal of National Socialist literature — and, above all, by the reading and re-reading of Hitler's 'Mein Kampf.' There is a kind of terrible sincerity about the National Socialists, a contemptuous candor that has some grandeur. Since the Lie is openly accepted as a useful means to an end, in dealing with what are believed to be naïve and decadent 'democracies,' one is able to discount, at the outset, all superficial professions of National Socialist aims. It is to the credit of 'Mein Kampf' rather than to my own credit, that I never believed any of the promises of Hitler that, once this or that was conceded, his desires would be 'appeased.' These promises have included 'No overt act in the Rhineland,' 'Non-aggression pacts with Austria and all eastern Europe,' 'No further aims after the Sudetenland,' etc., etc.

No one who has made himself thoroughly acquainted with National Socialist literature could ever believe that the slogan 'Union of All Germans within the Reich' represented a definition of aims. The 'Volkstaat' — the purely ethnic national state — has merely been a façade for the Nazi conception of the superior 'Master Folk,' the Chosen People, officially adopting the Nietzschean idea that moral codes are made for the stupid and inferior, and that superior peoples make their own, and believing that the mission of the self-chosen superior is to govern the unfit and thus bring in the millennium.

It took no prophetic vision, therefore, to predict that all of Czechoslovakia would be absorbed at a stroke, quite regardless of the nationality of the inhabitants, and that every success would be the prelude to another attempt at conquest.

The fourth conviction has been that the National Socialist State was a nation mobilized for war; that war was its intention; that it would risk war whenever it was certain that it would win it; and it would be restrained only if, on a measurement of chances, the possibility of defeat seemed more than likely.

These convictions were not arrived at hastily, and indeed had

to be admitted against the sanguinity of my nature, a great love of Germany, which for many years was a second home, an awareness of the German political and economic dilemma, and a sympathy for the German case.

The post-war arrangement of Europe never seemed to me just, realistic, or likely to be permanent. The rôle assigned to Germany, of a second-rate power, never seemed to me one which that very great people was likely to accept for even a generation. But because one thinks that the Treaty of Versailles was unfair does not in any sense justify the National Socialist aims. On the contrary, reason and the same realism which would have led one to advocate a change in the Versailles system must lead one to oppose with all one's strength the attempt to construct by violence another system bound to contain far worse injustices than the one under which Europe has muddled along for the last twenty years!

It is no longer possible to doubt what a large-scale victory of the Fascintern would mean to the peoples of the world. It would mean the imposition upon peoples of a system of organization plotted in detail by the Nazis. It would not mean closer collaboration between nations, but the systematic aggrandizement of German sovereignty over all of them, great and small.

The Italian example indicates the tendency. Italy is not, today, an ally of Germany, in the usual sense. Italy has become a sort of Vassal of Germany. There, rule is, at least, shared between the Italian Fascist Party and the German secret police — the Gestapo — whose agents are ubiquitous. Not only the military and foreign policies of Italy are 'switched into line' with the German; so is the domestic policy. The most obvious and well-known illustration of this is the introduction of Anti-Semitic racial laws, in a country where a Jewish 'problem' had never hitherto been thought of, against repeated statements and promises of Mussolini himself, and after fifteen years of Fascist rule.

A logical result of these convictions, which for three years have had the merit of being supported by the events, has led to a consistent criticism of British diplomatic policy. For over three years — beginning as early as May, 1936 — the author has been warning that the declining prestige of Great Britain on the Continent was bringing Europe closer and closer to catastrophe.

The history of British diplomacy up to the final, total conquest of Czechoslovakia has been one of the most lamentable chapters in modern history. The failure of the British Conservative government to comprehend the nature of the forces with which they were dealing; the dilatory and half-hearted rearmament; the systematic abandonment, point by point, of the most important strategical positions; the incredibly stupid snubbing of Russia — which could only lead to the present situation: that Russia is put in a remarkably advantageous bargaining position, and can dictate her own terms; caution, which has arisen, not from a careful analysis of the situation, but from fear, not only of Germany, but of social discontent at home; a Micawber-like hope that things were not what they so obviously seemed to be; the traditional attitude of the London City that money can accomplish everything, and that Mussolini, Hitler, and Franco could all be bought off — these belong to the record.

Today the whole policy is being reversed. But what precious time has been dissipated, what moral and material forces have been wasted, what positions have been lost!

The account of these wavering and unrealistic policies is part of the news and the comment upon it. Today, England and France are rushing to Moscow for that aid the necessity of which has always been obvious.

Yet, it is recorded that in the fall of 1937 at Brussels, England, France, and the United States, sitting down to discuss a possible settlement of the Chinese-Japanese War, talked without the presence of a Russian representative and without any regard for Rus-

sia — the most directly interested party. As late as the spring of 1939, the allegiance of Russia could have been won to a simple three-cornered pact; today, a few months later, the price of such allegiance has gone up.

Nor is the French record in these three years one to invite unequivocal admiration. The Popular Front government in France represented a weak and ineffectual answer to questions pressing to be solved in both the foreign and domestic fields. To think that strength or unity are to be found in collecting the relics of pinkish ideologies under one roof is to compound chaos.

The best that can be said for Popular Frontism, either at home or abroad, is that, by and large, its heart is in the right place. But its brains and its bowels are weak. In France, it put the conservatives into a panic without doing anything that deserves description by the good old word 'radical,' for it did not deal with a single problem in a clean, fundamental way. The end of its economic experimentation was the semi-dictatorial decrees of M. Paul Reynaud. And in foreign policy, M. Blum was quite as much of an 'appeaser' as Mr. Chamberlain.

If insistent attention has been paid to Europe, to an analysis of National Socialism, the progress of Russia and the programs of Britain and France, it has been in the hope that from such study it would be possible, for us in the United States, to learn something. Something I think has been learned, but not nearly enough.

In the last three years, the governing Administration in this country has attempted to deal with our domestic problems with its own brand of Popular Frontism — and our economic order is not intrinsically more sound than that of France; in some respects it is less sound. Leaving government finances out of account, which in France are traditionally appalling, various factors, among them the more even balance between industry and agriculture, have saved France from the worst calamity which the democracies have to face: unemployment.

Here, although numerous reforms have been made, we have not succeeded in restoring the production mechanism and keeping it functioning as it should. The lack of inner confidence and equilibrium has resulted in panic among the conservatives who have not themselves, as an organized opposition, been able to offer a counter-program appealing to the intelligence. And home-relief, made work, and the sloganizing of the poor have not ended the discontent of the less privileged.

This inner weakness, the disillusion with much of the New Deal, the sense of having serious problems which we are mitigating rather than meeting, is a bad foundation for a strong foreign policy. In the first place, it assists foreign propagandists to further their own interests. Despite the fact that the United States is overwhelmingly against any totalitarian system, whether Communist or Fascist, the agitation of the Communists, made obliquely, of course, under the guise of fostering more 'democracy,' is not without effect. It at least contributes to hamper original, fresh, and practical thinking regarding ways to make necessary readjustments in the social, political, and economic order. And the agitation — also obliquely fostered — by pro-Fascist elements is visibly having results. Thus, we find among people who deny any sympathy with Naziism a growing anti-Semitism which can be directly traced to Nazi activities. Apart from its brutality, this anti-Semitism is of general danger to the social order, because it introduces a complete irrelevance, deflects attention from genuine issues and genuine problems, and creates further fear and nervousness.

This fear and nervousness, then, produce timidity, in a world in which timidity is the worst policy. Our bad conscience regarding the evils in our own social order constrains us to tolerance to the ideas and methods of other countries, which, were we healthier, we would reject with far more vigor. We are likely to be impressed by claims that Germany and Italy have eliminated

unemployment — although no American still in his right mind would choose to live under a régime that has eliminated unemployment at any such cost.

Although it would seem demonstrable, from the last three years of European drift, that the weakness that turns one's eyes away from unpleasant facts, and the fear that induces concessions made in panic, have only brought catastrophe nearer and increased the tempo of its approach, that lesson has not yet been learned in America.

A large part of our population still apparently cherish the illusion that North America is not quite on this planet; seemingly they think that the whole European world can collapse in war and ruin or become subjects of a dynamic totalitarianism without any catastrophic effect upon us. The history of the Napoleonic Wars, of the World War, and of the years since then do not furnish a shred of justification for such a hope.

The United States is not a forgotten Elysian island. Our two oceans connect us with the rest of the world; they do not separate us. They are carrying, at this moment, machine tools, automobiles, raw materials, and all manner of manufactured goods to the whole world and they are bringing here other materials, such as rubber, tungsten, and tin, that are absolutely essential to the continuance of production at even its present level. They protect us, still, from armed attack upon our soil, but they do not protect us from assaults upon our economy or upon the public mind. They in no way relieve us of the responsibility of doing everything that a great nation can do to maintain a world order in which the interests of its people, and the values that they cherish, can survive and improve.

To be conscious of serious danger, and to be ready to look it in the eye, is not pessimism. It is the way one gathers one's strength. For when one looks it in the eye, it becomes, interestingly enough, less ominous.

The Fascintern has not achieved its victories because of its own strength, but because of the tolerance and weakness of the so-called democracies. Such victories as the Fascintern has achieved have been accomplished under almost intolerable strain. Preparation for a gigantic effort to upset the world demands a discipline so rigid that unless victories are accumulated without serious opposition, it may crack dismally. At the bottom of all the claims of these totalitarian states are colossal lies. If the abolition of unemployment is accompanied, as it is in both Germany and Italy, by the exhaustion of human and physical resources and by a lowered standard of living and culture, then the very purpose of abolishing unemployment is betrayed, for men work in order to produce real material and spiritual values; they work for individual and communal enrichment — not to create sets of favorable statistics. If men are overemployed — as they have been for a long time in Germany, where there is a sixty-hour week in manufacturing — and if, as a result, they do not have as much to eat and wear as does the average man in countries with bad unemployment statistics, then the very word 'employment' loses its significance.

If, while bragging continually of unity, it is necessary to hire hundreds of thousands of informers and spies to see that the unity is maintained, we may seriously doubt whether unity exists.

And if we believe that the instinct of liberty is deep in the human mind and soul, then we should have faith that the Germans, and Italians, being men and women very like ourselves, will not forever joyfully endure the extinction of every kind of individual and group freedom. They are likely to endure it as long as the system which makes such great demands upon them moves from victory to victory. But let the victories stop, or the price of them go up, and there is every reason to believe that this imposing morale will crack.

Good and healthy societies do not require to be ruled by terror. This is not to deny that terror is an enormously effective means of creating a menacing machine. The shrewd exploitation of fear is an ancient means of ruling. But it is also a dangerous way of ruling. For one thing, it cuts the rulers themselves off from reality. In a society where no one can complain, no one knows the depths of resentment ready to flare up once the opportunity comes.

The whole world has collaborated to strengthen the hold of the Fascintern, first on its own peoples, and second over other peoples. It has collaborated to make possible the Japanese expansion in China.

It has collaborated in Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Spain. Fear has been at the root of that collaboration: fear of war, fear of Communism, and fear of ourselves. These fears paralyze both the intelligence and the will; they increase the real danger of war, Communism, and the continuance of chaos, and they create the perfect breeding ground for Fascism, which is, itself, the synthesis of war, collectivization, and nihilism.

The only good that can accrue to us from Fascism is its challenge to us to reconsider, point by point, all that we are supposed to live by. It forces us to admit that Democracy is very sick, for had it been healthy, courageous, and strong Fascism would have died in the bud.

What has happened in Germany is of immediate importance to us, because it has happened to men and women living in a highly organized, civilized, and previously democratic society, and it is, therefore, a warning hint of where the trends of modern life may lead us unless we begin to move, consciously, in a better direction.

These trends of modern life are not confined to Europe. They are indigenous to the western world. The concept of democracy as a wholesale scramble for privileges, without entailing any

reciprocal obligations to society; the concept of individualism as unlimited self-indulgence, divorced from the deeply religious idea of personality, and the duty of self-perfection; the effect of this no longer rugged but indolent and pleasure-loving individualism upon the whole of group life — upon marriage, the relations of parents and children, teachers and students, and, at every point, upon the relations between men and society; the instinct to look to the State to solve every problem and meet every emergency, and the tendency of every group to exploit the State for its own advantage; the superficiality of education; the systematic prolongation of youth and irresponsibility, and the protection of the young from all really strenuous effort; the lax attitude toward crime, and the tendency to regard the enemies of society merely as miserable victims of forces over which they have no control; the irresponsible promises of politicians to the masses and to the classes; a pacifism which has no such rigorous and, indeed, heroic self-discipline as the Society of Friends demands of its members, but which arises out of a vague feeling that there is nothing in the world worth heroic sacrifice; the interpretation of self-government as a universal Gallup Poll, in which neither wisdom, experience, nor intelligence is the criterion, but only numbers; the elevation of leisure over creative work; the tendency to measure the standard of living wholly in terms of money — these are trends which Plato described as infallible signs of decay in societies of free and self-governing men.

And Plato laid it down, almost as a scientific rule, that the end of decaying democracy was invariably tyranny — the worst of all possible governments.

It is too late to answer the slogans of Fascism with the slogans of Democracy. It is too late to hope that we shall preserve Democracy without effort, intelligence, responsibility, character, and great sacrifice. In the next decade there will be no free rides to freedom; it will not be preserved by geography or by the

insistent chant, that no matter where else it is raining, it is bound to be sunny here — if not today, then tomorrow.

This, it seems to me, is the lesson of the news in the last three years.

July 12, 1939

1936

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

March 11, 1936

Hitler Promises No Overt Act on Rhine; Ready for Pacts With Austria and Czechs — 'Germany will commit no overt act in the Rhineland,' Chancellor Adolf Hitler told G. Ward Price, correspondent of the *London Daily Mail*. Hitler answered six questions, the first of which was: 'Does your offer of a pact of non-aggression to all the States along Germany's eastern frontier include Austria and Czechoslovakia?' 'My proposal for the conclusion of non-aggression pacts east and west of Germany was meant as a universal one,' he replied. 'There is certainly no exception intended. It applies equally to Czechoslovakia and Austria.'

Political Dictionary

THE to-do which occurred in London over the English translation of the German word *alsbald* was quickly settled. The Germans said it did not mean 'forthwith,' but 'in due course.' And the delegates to the conference accepted the German interpretation.

But there are other difficulties in translating from one language into another which are not so easily settled. They arise from the fact that dictatorships often have quite different interpretations of words from liberal democracies. When Sir John Simon came away from his first long interview with Hitler and met an acquaintance of mine in Paris, he remarked, apropos his meeting with the Fuehrer, 'These people speak a strange language, which I cannot quite understand.' He did not mean that he could not understand German. He meant that the Fascist dictatorships have a special dictionary of their own. They use the same words as the

liberal countries, but they do not mean the same things with them. They meet with the democracies in conference, sign pacts together, agree on programs and then, suddenly, the collaborators find themselves acting in absolutely divergent directions. Then each thinks the other a liar, a breaker of contracts, a betrayer of faith.

That is what has just happened in Europe. And it is probably what is going to go on happening, no matter what new agreements are made. Because all these contracts and arrangements presume that the parties attach the same meaning to such words as 'equality,' 'aggression,' 'disarmament,' etc., when, in fact, they do not. What is needed in London and Geneva is a translator, not only from one language to another, but from one psychology into another.

The word *equality* is a good illustration. When Mr. Hitler says that all that he wants for Germany is 'equality,' the Anglo-Saxon and French peoples think of the word 'equality' in its eighteenth-century sense, as equality before the law, equality of opportunity. But that is not what the Nazi dictionary means by it. In that unwritten lexicon, it means: a share in world raw materials, markets, colonies and political power in proportion to the size and rate of expansion of our population. Since Germany has a population of nearly seventy millions and France a population of forty-odd millions, that means that Germany, to achieve equality with France, ought to have an empire three-fourths larger than hers.

Profoundly different meanings attach to the word *peace*. In the dictionary of democracies peace is a desirably permanent condition of amicable relations with all other nations. In the dictionary of dictatorships peace means: a quiet and an undisturbed period in which to prepare for war, either a national war or, in the Russian case, the international class war. Mr. Hitler suggests that peace is necessary for this purpose, in the following

passage from his book: 'To forge a sword is the task of domestic leadership; to protect the forging process while seeking future comrades in arms is the task of foreign policy.'

What does *non-aggression* mean in the two dictionaries? Liberal democracies mean by it simply the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. Both the Russian and German dictatorships mean by it the substitution of revolution for other weapons. Neither Russia nor Germany considers the fomenting of internal strife in countries which they want to bring under their influence to be aggression. The assassination of Chancellor Dollfuss was not an act of aggression, because it was committed by Austrians under German influence and direction.

There is a similar disparity in the conception of *war*. For the democracies war is armed conflict between nations, to be avoided as an unmitigated catastrophe. Above all, war is regarded as an *abnormal* condition. In the Russian dictionary war is either an inevitable by-product of the struggle of capitalistic countries for markets, or the permanent, unremitting and inevitable struggle between classes for power. And in the Fascist dictionary it is the necessary and normal condition in which heroic nations and personalities reach their highest expression. Thus in a Nazi children's camp one sees the sign: 'You were born to die for Germany!'

The words *pact* and *treaty* are subject to divergent interpretations. A pact signed today by the democracies represents a recognition in law of a desirable relationship on the assumption that it will be permanent. A pact signed today by the dictatorships is a recognition of a temporary relationship of power which the 'dynamics of history' will inevitably change. It is, perhaps, significant that whereas the Locarno Pact was made perpetual, what Mr. Hitler proposes in its place is a series of twenty-five-year truces.

The words *honor* and *dishonor* have different connotations in liberal and in Fascist minds. Honor in England means allegiance to accepted standards of conduct. Honor in Germany and Italy means prestige. Dishonor in the Anglo-Saxon dictionary is a crime which one commits against oneself; in the Fascist dictionary it means a crime which is committed against one.

Defense, in liberal terms, means the repulsion of an enemy invasion and preparation against such an eventuality. In Fascist terms defense means the creation of a military position superior to any other. *Total disarmament*, in liberal terms, means that everyone is a civilian. In Fascist terms it means that every civilian is a soldier. In Communist terms it means that every civilian is a revolutionary cell. *Police force*, in the liberal dictionary, is an armed or unarmed guard for the maintenance of domestic order. In the Fascist dictionary it is a body of soldiers in a distinctive uniform, capable of being welded immediately with the regular army. Thus Hitler, in occupying the Rhineland, immediately incorporated the police with the army.

Morality, in the language of all dictatorships, means, not devotion to an abstract standard of conduct, but blind obedience to the dictates of the State. And *truth* is not conformity with fact, or fidelity to an accepted standard of abstract principle, but is quite frankly whatever may serve as an instrument of national policy, there being no higher agency than the State and no higher good than that of the nation. *Unity*, in Fascist terms, means uniformity; *freedom of conscience* means insubordination; *co-ordination* means coercion.

Whether Europe will ever again speak a common language, and if so whose dictionary will be used, is, from a long view, the real issue.

March 19, 1936

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

March 1, 1936

Germany recovered full sovereignty over the Saar.

March 7, 1936

German troops are moving into the demilitarized Rhineland zone created by the Treaty of Versailles and guaranteed by the Locarno Pact. At the same time Chancellor Hitler notified the powers concerned that Germany no longer considered herself bound by the Locarno terms because the fundamental basis and inherent purpose of that pact had been destroyed through the conclusion of the mutual-assistance treaty between France and the Soviet Union. France and the other parties to the Locarno Pact complained to the League of Nations.

March 10, 1936

The German Army in the Rhineland was increased to 50,000 by the incorporation of twenty battalions of police.

Devil's Choice

BEHIND the discussions going on in London, the statements of rights, the appeals to reason, the proposal for a new arms and economic conference, are certain implacable facts, certain inexorable forces, which in the end will determine Europe's destiny.

The first is that should the German proposals be accepted, and Europe reconstructed with practically everything in the Treaty of Versailles eliminated except its territorial provisions, Germany would soon, by sheer force of disciplined numbers, dominate the

Continent, both as a military and as a political power. There are twice as many Germans in Europe as there are Frenchmen. This, and not any immediate fear that her eastern frontier will be violated, is the basis of French apprehension.

The second is that Great Britain, both by treaty and by the most positive self-interest, is committed to maintaining the territorial integrity of France, even by war if necessary. This was a fact in 1914, as the war proved, but it had not been openly affirmed. Today it is.

But — and this is the third fact — Great Britain is not willing to commit herself to maintaining by force of her arms and for eternity the position which France has held on the Continent since the war. Public opinion in England is not willing, and it would be impossible to commit the British Dominions to such a purpose.

Fourth: The Germans are perfectly aware of the exact limits of British enthusiasm for France, and it is Mr. Hitler's primary policy to exploit them for all they are worth. Collaboration with Britain is the first article in his foreign policy. In this he is absolutely consistent. Twelve years ago, when he first published 'Mein Kampf,' he excoriated pre-war German diplomacy for bringing about a break with Britain by its colonial policy and naval race; he advocated relinquishing Alsace-Lorraine forever and forcing an eventual settlement with France, peaceably if possible, by war if necessary, only for the purpose of winning for Germany a free hand in the East. He said that Germany could only choose between Britain and Russia, and that pre-war Germany had managed to alienate both. It is clear that Hitler does not intend to choose Russia. On the contrary, he has openly advocated bringing down Bolshevism in Russia, has predicted that its collapse would be the end of Russia as a unified state, and that Germany would be its chief heir.

Such a program, of course, is one of long range. Germany has

no border on Russia, and the first step would have to be to divorce the small eastern and central European countries, the Baltic States, Austria, Czechoslovakia, etc., from their alliance with France, and bring them under German influence. The German proposals in London are a first step in this direction.

But the hope of winning Great Britain to a tolerant neutrality toward such a program is counteracted by other facts and forces which Mr. Hitler has apparently not considered so carefully.

Until the League of Nations plebiscite, shortly before the Ethiopian affair, England was holding herself increasingly aloof from the Continent, and the League's prestige was declining in official British circles.

England could afford this attitude because of her friendship with Italy, which, resting upon long tradition and the historic strength of the British fleet, assured her security in the Mediterranean. This traditional friendship went so far that when the Ethiopian affair became acute and the Foreign Office queried the Admiralty as to what plans it had in case of a British-Italian conflict, it was discovered that the Admiralty had none at all! The whole action of the British fleet was therefore improvised.

In the Ethiopian conflict England learned, first, that the Italian power in the Mediterranean was more formidable than she had supposed, and second, that unless she stuck very close to France and the League she might have to fear an alliance between these two, who could between them control Gibraltar and the Suez Canal. France is essential to Great Britain. Germany is not. And this fact is seen most clearly by those men in England like Winston Churchill, who are experts on military and naval matters.

Public opinion in England is not so clear, and public opinion in these days, when every Englishman with a radio can hear the case of France or Germany or Italy presented to his own ear in his own language, is very powerful. There are a large number of liberals, of whom Lord Lothian is perhaps typical, who have

always felt that Germany was not given a square deal, and that there will be no peace in Europe until some of her demands are met. But the pacifist opinion is also divided since Hitler came into power, because in liberal minds the large question looms as to whether any concessions should be made to Hitler's Germany, and what a further extension of Nazi power would mean to European civilization. On the other side, there are die-hards who think it might even be desirable to let Germany 'clean up' Russia.

But the French have no such idea at all. France could purchase from Germany right now a guarantee of security which, with British collaboration, would probably secure her peace for generations. But in so doing she would consent to retire as a first-class power and pass that rôle over to her late enemy. France has a whole network of allies in central and eastern Europe, and upon them her prestige rests. It was shaken when she allowed Germany to begin rearming without more than formal protest. That resulted in Poland's making a settlement with Germany and drifting somewhat away from French control.

If France now gives in on the matter of the Rhineland there will be only one course open to Austria, Czechoslovakia and the other small eastern nations, and that will be either to draw closer to Russia or to make their peace with Germany on the best terms they can. The Poles, Czechs and Austrians are bound to believe that if France will not act to prevent German guns being set up at her own border she will hardly act in behalf of outraged Czechs or Austrians in some distant future. The French peasant might fight today for a menaced Strasbourg, but hardly tomorrow for a menaced Prague.

If France would resign herself to a secondary rôle, in exchange for security, war would perhaps not be immediate or necessary, provided that the rest of Europe, and especially Great Britain, collaborated to assist German economic reconstruction. That is

another big factor. The Nazi system depends upon rearmament and public works, and vast sacrifices from the population, prompted by periodic patriotic saturnalia. Experts believe that the Nazi financial situation is very serious, and that without assistance from outside it may crack. Does the rest of Europe want to keep it from cracking? And if it cracks, what will Germany do? Break out somewhere else?

There is not yet a clear line-up. Britain has not yet chosen. Meanwhile, she will play for time, first, because that is her habitual technique and, second, because she feels herself to be inadequately armed. Some weeks ago the government suddenly ordered one hundred bombing planes from the Fairey Company. The manufacturers asked for nine months in which to complete experiments designed to improve the plane. The government replied, 'We have not nine months to wait.'

March 21, 1936

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

March 29, 1936

In Germany, the national plebiscite on Chancellor Hitler's policies gave him 98.79 per cent of the votes, according to official returns.

The German Elections

THE Sunday elections gave Mr. Hitler the support of 98.79 per cent of Germany's voters, but they did not help his moral position in Europe. On the contrary, a deep depression pervades the democratic countries, contemplating the events of the next days or weeks. For at a time when Europe's wisest, most reasonable, most responsible men seek to find through compromise a new path to international political order, the German elections only emphasized the vast disparity between the mind and temper of Germany and that of most of the western world. Over the last week-end all eyes were on Germany. In England and France, where public opinion divides, argues, debates, all ears were at radios. Newspapers with the German campaign speeches and the election returns in them were snatched from newsboys. And what did they hear, and read, and vicariously see?

They saw and heard a man, mounted aloft in a forest of girders in one of the greatest gun factories on earth, under the blinding lights of gigantic lamps, in tones of the utmost defiance, declare peace upon the world.

They saw a people rise like a huge well-oiled robot. Flags out! screamed the radio, and the hooked cross blazed in a million

windows. Silence! cried the radio, and every man afoot or awheel, every vehicle except trains and aeroplanes in transit, stood still. Attention! cried the radio, and on street corners and in cafés, in offices and factories, ears and faces turned toward the amplifiers, toward the voice of the Leader. Vote! cried the radio, the press, the Storm Troopers, the Nazi commissars in every city block. An entire people poured to the polls. The sick in wheel chairs, the infirm on supporting arms, the poor, the rich, the important, the nobodies. No one could hide away at home. In every block a Nazi commissar had a list of voters. Whoever failed to show up at the polling place was sent for. Refusal meant denunciation, perhaps concentration camp. Blank votes were counted as Yes. There was no provision for voting No. There were no neutral watchers at the polls. For those too ill to walk, too poor to ride, there were official cars. One ballot, one Leader, one list, one policy, one place to put a cross. One Yes, one mob, one mass, one voice. The voice of a single man.

Hitler declared peace. Across his platforms banners blazoned the words: 'Europe Stands or Falls with Hitler!' Stands or Falls. Stands where? Falls how?

Germany has peace. Social peace. Hitler established it. It is the peace of total uniformity. Peace without freedom. Is that the peace he proposes to extend to Europe?

From the platform in the Krupp factory he appealed to the peoples over the heads of their foreign offices. 'Will you have peace with Germany?' All the world wants peace. In England men parade in sandwich boards urging conciliation. In France many voices cry for understanding with Germany. The order of Versailles is dead. Let us start over! Everywhere there is bad conscience. Everywhere desire for security. Everywhere fear. In the French General Staff are men who say: 'March now. Better now than later, since war is inevitable.' In Italy, Mussolini says: 'Hitler can be destroyed now with sanctions. Clear the way for reason in Germany.'

In England leaders keep a cool head and cool blood. 'War must be avoided at all costs. We must take Hitler at his word, assuming he means his offer. Germany must be brought back into the League as an equal, pledged to collective security, including all nations, including Russia. Above all, we must play for time. Time is everything. Germany will not be able to go on forever building guns, building tanks, equipping armies, without aid. Raw materials can only be bought with gold or goods. There are serious gaps in Hitler's armor: We must capitalize the will of the people for peace. We must direct the course, and take the lead.'

But is Europe dealing with a responsible foreign office? Is it dealing with a nation conscious of economic realities? Or is it dealing with incalculable revolutionary forces? The German revolution has its own weapons. Political weapons. The army, however strong, may be merely a reserve force, a constant threat, the mailed fist behind the persuasive voice. Mr. Hitler has the radio, completely controlled by the Ministry of Propaganda, equipped with the strongest sending stations on the Continent and geared to effect the widest possible transmission and the smallest reception. He can talk to the world and keep the world's answer from his subjects. He has Nazi or Pan-German parties in the smaller states, working to undermine the existing governments. Revolution always urges disarmament.

'Only sufficient territory on this earth insures a people the freedom of its existence,' wrote Mr. Hitler in the book which is Nazi Germany's Bible. 'If National Socialism wishes to fulfill its historic destiny it must boldly and consciously fight to lead our people upon a new road. . . . It must seek to remedy the disproportion between our numbers and the space on earth we occupy. . . . New land and soil must be our goal. . . . The future objective of foreign policy must be . . . the winning of new lands in eastern Europe for the German race. . . . Inasmuch as France, deadly enemy of our people, strangles and robs us of our power, we must

at all cost take upon ourselves the consequences which the destruction of the French hegemony in Europe involves. But much as we recognize the necessity of a reckoning with France, it will have meaning only if it assures us security in the west for the extension of our territory in the east. . . . Our solution is not in remote colonies but in new land for colonization in Europe itself that will actually extend the territory of the mother country. . . . Germany will either be a world power or nothing. . . . The oppressed minorities of our people will never be reunited with the mother country by protests, but only by the sword.'

This is not the voice of all Germany, but it is the voice of the man in whose hands Germany's destiny rests. They are words remote from every economic reality. Expansion, the revision of frontiers, whether by politics or by war, is no solution for any nation's ills. Britain, whose Commonwealth covers a fourth of the globe, cannot colonize her unemployed. New land and soil will not put a single piece of bread in a single German child's mouth. Does Hitler still mean these words or has he repudiated them? Can one preach at home inequality of races and nations and advocate abroad good will toward all men? Can one affirm the necessity of expansion and offer non-aggression pacts?

Let us not cherish the illusion that the answer does not concern this country. For no highly organized nation is there a way out of the depression except through the restoration of peace and good faith amongst people and the resumption of world trade. Fascism has got to be answered with a positive and constructive program. *For only a little while longer can Europe drift.*

March 31, 1936

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

March 3, 1936

At Geneva, the League of Nations committee of the group of mediators appealed to Italy and Ethiopia to open 'in the framework of the League and in the spirit of the covenant' armistice and peace negotiations and decided to give them a week to answer.

March 8, 1936

In Ethiopia, an order to cease firing was sent out all over the northern war front when it was learned that Premier Mussolini had accepted the proposal of the League of Nations to discuss peace terms.

March 23, 1936

At Rome, Italy, Austria and Hungary signed protocols promising to remain faithful to the principles of political, economic and cultural co-operation laid down in the Rome protocols of March 17, 1934.

April 20, 1936

At Geneva, the League of Nations Council again pronounced Italy the aggressor in Ethiopia and held that sanctions should continue, but renewed an invitation for peace. Foreign Secretary Eden warned that if the League failed in this test Britain would have to reconsider her reliance on it as the guardian of peace.

May 9, 1936

Premier Mussolini announced the annexation of Ethiopia and the assumption by King Victor Emmanuel of the title of Emperor.

May 11, 1936

At Geneva, the Council of the League of Nations rejected Italy's demand that the Ethiopian question be removed from further consideration by that body. The Emperor's delegate was recognized as still representing Ethiopia. The Italian delegate thereupon walked out of the Council Chamber.

Muddling — But Not Through

AS MUSSOLINI formally annexes Ethiopia, the repercussion is felt all over Europe and its most serious result is the profound decline of confidence in Great Britain on the Continent. Unquestionably the most immediate benefactor is the German Reich and Mr. Hitler. There is irony in this. At the very time when the National Socialist Party faces the most serious internal problems which it has had to deal with since the blood purge of June 1934, the foreign situation gives it a new lease on power and prestige.

Great Britain's authority on the Continent was never higher than it was five months ago when public opinion forced the resignation of Sir Samuel Hoare and demanded a more aggressive attitude; it was never lower than it is at this moment. And since it has been confidence in Great Britain which has held together the shaky situation in central and eastern Europe ever since the establishment of the Third Reich under Nazi dictatorship, we may expect to see that structure totter further in the next months, unless by some miracle not yet to be envisaged Great Britain and France pull more resolutely and aggressively together.

At present there is no sign of this. The Left victory in France will hardly help it. The British Conservatives, who have no great love for the League in any case, are certainly not feeling more enthusiastic about it now. The old League is dead. A new League will no doubt come into being. But will it be a stronger League or a weaker one?

Versailles is dead, and the policy of bluff and hoping for the best has been defecated. Britain has made in the last month two fatal blunders, and both were due to bad military advice. As Walter Lippmann pointed out the other day, Britain overestimated Ethiopia's forces and their ability to hold out until the

spring rains with no more help from the League than halfway measures in the shape of economic sanctions. Great Britain also, months earlier, when Lord Londonderry was still air minister, greatly underestimated the strength of the German air force. Now the Europe in which kind words are more than bayonets and simple faith than boiling blood is no more. The kind words may go on, but behind them force will negotiate silently with force. So far in history this procedure has had but one outcome.

The Little Entente countries, those nations created or enlarged by the treaties, meet in conference and reaffirm their old policy: to stick together, to oppose aggrandizement, to present a united front against the restoration of the Hapsburg monarchy and to maintain the independence of Austria. Behind the brave words is a prodigious fear. The collapse of their confidence in Britain already shows results inside every nation in central and eastern Europe. A wave of anti-Semitism, kept in check by desire for the good wishes of Britain and France, is beginning in Austria. The Henlein movement, a pure Nazi group, is growing in Czechoslovakia. Well-informed students of the situation there predict that it will gather strength in the next months, and probably demand an autonomous German province inside Czechoslovakia. In Yugoslavia, the old fear of Italy, combined with French and British weakness, inclines the people toward a pro-German orientation. In Rumania the Iron Guard, a Nazi organization, is increasing its activities. Hungary is governed by a pro-German prime minister, Julius Gombos.

Meanwhile, the British government has addressed a memorandum to the German government, asking further details about the program which Mr. Hitler grandiosely proposed some weeks ago for the reorganization of Europe and the stabilization of peace. It will be interesting to see what happens to the British questionnaire.

A dispatch from Berlin yesterday indicated that the Germans

were pleased by its conciliatory tone, that an answer will be made 'in due course,' that the German position is 'that no substantial approach is possible until the aftermath of the Ethiopian conquest is cleared away.' There is something ominous in this, in the light of what happened to the 1935 proposals from Germany. For, it must be remembered, Mr. Hitler also proposed peace measures last year which included an air pact and an eastern pact.

The course of the negotiations has recently been exposed in a British blue book, which traces diplomatic exchanges between Britain, Germany and France from June 1934 to March 1936. It is an amazing document. And it shows that, having fired a propaganda bomb into the air, the German government proceeded on a course whose whole result was to sabotage any definite agreement or even any eye-to-eye discussion.

First, the Comintern Conference in Moscow made negotiations inadvisable. Then the Italian-Ethiopian War made postponement necessary. Then the Franco-Soviet military alliance did not allow the discussion of a European air pact. Then, again, the war in Africa led to the polite dismissal of Sir Eric Phipps's renewed proposals for discussions. And in the end, Mr. Hitler sent his troops into the Rhineland, destroyed the Locarno Treaty and offered again a brand-new program: an air pact in the west, and non-aggression treaties in the east.

To make a grandiose offer but to postpone negotiations which might make that offer more than mere words — until the next *fait accompli* — appears to be a German tactic.

Germany reckons on disruptive forces inside the countries which she hopes to bring into her sphere of influence. Well-meaning liberals, particularly in England, continue to regard Germany as though she were not a revolutionary country which has taken over from the Third International the very tactics which, coming from Russia, she so deplors. 'What we lost by

the war, we shall win by revolution,' prophesied Moeller van der Bruck in 'The Third Reich.' We may count on German propaganda to exploit to the fullest, inside France and out, the victory of the Left there. Germany will appeal to nationalistic French youth to save France from Communism. Anti-Semitic literature originating in Germany will be circulated in other European countries, for nothing can cause more internal unrest than aroused hatred against a minority.

The policy of drift can go on. But it is likely to end with Germany on top of Europe, or, as in China, as in Africa, in war.

May 9, 1936

Poker Game in Geneva

'I CALL you,' says Italy. Slowly the players turn over their cards. Not one of them has even a pair, although they have been betting high. 'Two kings,' says Italy, taking the pot. 'Deal me out.' Italy has called a bluff, as Japan and Germany have done before her, has raked in the chips and retired to the sidelines. The players wonder whether the three winners will sit in again, or start a rival game. And it looks as though they would join again only if the rules are changed — with Duces wild. Even Norman Davis, the merry kibitzer from the United States, is bored. 'Let's call it the last hand,' say the players gloomily. 'Meet you again June 15.'

The dilemma of Great Britain and France has been that neither of them has been able to decide which cards to hold and draw to, and which to discard. Should England hold a French king and draw to that, or should she keep a German ace and draw to that? Should France keep an Italian jack or British king? And what chance have the Soviets to fill a nice red flush, to which they have got to draw a couple of cards? Italy's technique and Germany's has been: If you don't get it in the draw you may get it out of

your sleeve. The first rule of poker is: Never play with professional gamblers.

There are three reasons for the confusion in Geneva. The first is, as we have indicated, that not a single nation knows clearly how it stands in relation to any other nation.

Great Britain cannot decide between Germany and France, between the Hitler proposal of rejecting the present League system altogether, that is to say, the system of mutual assistance, and substituting for it a series of non-aggression pacts, and the French hope of keeping the League and strengthening it. The division is in the British cabinet and in British public opinion. And Britain cannot decide because she does not know what Italy still contemplates in Europe and in Africa.

France is without a cabinet, but the new government will face the same dilemma as the old one; whether to choose Italy or to choose England, or to go on trying to choose both. But the Italians are also in a dilemma, because if they finally and decisively sever their connection with the League, and thereby with the Stresa front, they do not know what price they will have to pay. Should the League stick to sanctions, Mussolini would have to choose between Africa and Austria, because he would need Germany, and he could get Germany's support only at a price.

So far the only halfway certain opposition to the German annexation of Austria has been Mussolini. That was demonstrated in the summer of 1934, when the Nazis attempted to take Austria, and Mussolini alone mobilized for military action if necessary. In the last few weeks Mussolini has again given his word to the Austrian prime minister that he could be counted on to the uttermost to defend Austrian independence. Italy's self-interest lies in this direction. There are a quarter of a million German-speaking people in the Italian Tyrol, and they are fervently Nazi. Italy would certainly prefer to have Austria at her border rather than Germany, and surely has no illusions that if Germany gets Austria,

she will stop there. Old Austria had ports on the Adriatic which a strong Pan-German movement would covet. *And Great Britain, though not much interested in the fate of Austria, will certainly ask herself how much farther Mussolini will go in the Mediterranean and in Africa, if he has to compensate Germany in central Europe.*

The new French premier, Léon Blum, has indicated that he will try to revive the old Briand plan of an economic federation in Europe — a vital idea to oppose to Hitler's purely political scheme of non-aggression pacts of questionable security. But there is no indication that even the smallest, weakest and most threatened nations are prepared to relinquish their economic nationalism. And we do not yet know how strong or weak the new French government may prove to be.

The real source of the mess lies in the fact that the League of Nations was founded on the assumption that it would be a society of democratic nations, sharing in all essential matters the same political ideology. This was the idea of Wilson, who saw in the League Covenant something not altogether unlike the American Constitution. One may ask oneself how long it would be possible to hold the United States together if California were a Soviet commonwealth, Pennsylvania a Fascist state, New England a society based upon racial unity and making most of its laws from this viewpoint and New York a political democracy? Our own nation fought a civil war over the issue of whether unity can survive in a nation half slave and half free. The Civil War was the recognition of the principle that union depends upon the universal acceptance of certain rules and moral concepts.

If the League fails it will be because Europe has failed to develop a common ground, considered essential when the League was founded. Now the world is back where it was in 1914, divided into various political systems between which no real conciliation and co-operation can be achieved. *The spiritual and moral co-ordination of the world is the real issue of tomorrow.*

May 14, 1936

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

July 9, 1936

HITLER OFFERS PACT ON A FREE AUSTRIA TO APPEASE ITALY — WON'T HELP VIENNA NAZIS — Schuschnigg Believed to Have Given Guarantees against Hapsburg Restoration.

New York Herald Tribune

July 12, 1936

REICH, IN ACCORD WITH AUSTRIA, RECOGNIZES FULL SOVEREIGNTY — Vienna Declares Its State 'Germanic' and Promises to Act Accordingly in Foreign Affairs; Neither to Interfere in Other's Domestic Policy.

Peace by Force

THERE is every indication that within the immediate future a sensational agreement will be made between Vienna and Berlin whereby Hitler will abandon, at least for a specified length of time, any hope of incorporating Austria within the German Reich. Dispatches from London, Rome and Vienna indicate that Hitler is prepared definitely to recognize the independence of Austria in a specific pact and agree to non-interference in Austrian affairs and gradually to repatriate the Austrian Legion, which has been on German soil, after demobilizing it. If the agreement is reached, there will be relief not only in Austria but also in Europe as a whole. It is even possible that a similar agreement may be made between the Reich and Czechoslovakia.

The authors of these agreements, if they are made, will be in reality Italy and Russia. What they prove on top of the fiasco at

Geneva is that in dealings between the powers today, the possibilities of bluff, of winning anything by moral indignation or appeals to the unity of Europe, or of threats which do not have behind them armed force and the intention to use it, are exhausted.

Within the last months Italy has invaded a League power, conquered it and had the conquest recognized *de facto*, in spite of the fact that fifty-two nations collectively guaranteed Ethiopia's integrity, and had at their disposal the legal means of enforcing that guarantee. But Mussolini was quite certain that no such European unity existed as would lead those nations seriously to apply even economic sanctions, in a total way, and his guess proved to be right.

In March of this year, Germany broke the Treaty of Locarno by unilateral action, despite the fact that the treaty was guaranteed by Italy and Germany. But Hitler guessed that Britain would not back France in any drastic action to prevent German reoccupation of the Rhineland, and Hitler, like Mussolini, was right.

Now, if Austria depended for her security upon the League of Nations, or upon Great Britain or France, her prospect of maintaining herself against German expansion would be very slight indeed, and the same is true of Czechoslovakia and the other small European nations.

But there are two countries which apparently mean precisely what they say, and this fact is immensely increasing their prestige and power in Europe. Those countries are Italy and Russia. It is extremely interesting and significant that the pending military pact between France and Russia was met by Germans' occupying the Rhineland, whereas the announcement that Italy and Russia might conclude a similar pact has resulted in peaceful German overtures toward Austria.

When a Nazi *putsch* was attempted in Austria in the summer of

1934, Mussolini mobilized. Since that time he has given assurances to the Austrian chancellor, Doctor Schuschnigg, that he would stand by him in support of Austrian independence by arms if necessary. Similar assurances have been given Czechoslovakia by both France and Russia, although France's promises become more platonic because the Rhineland is no longer demilitarized and Germany is therefore able to prevent France from going to the aid of any of her eastern allies, or at least make it extremely difficult for her. But Russia, on the other hand, is building air bases on Czechoslovakian soil.

Apparently Hitler is convinced that a move against Austria would mean war — not merely discussions and resolutions in Geneva — and that a move against Czechoslovakia might mean the same thing. He might attempt either one day were he certain of the neutrality of sufficient countries or of at least one strong ally. But at present he is sure of neither and he is genuinely apprehensive that two countries would act.

Hitler has not even answered Britain's memorandum of many weeks ago. It may be recalled that on the eve of occupying the Rhineland he made overtures to France. Then as soon as his troops were moved, he called a plebiscite to ratify his actions, describing them to the German people as a move to re-establish universal peace in Europe on a firmer basis than that of Versailles. At the same time he made the most grandiose, though vague, offers of peace guaranteed to the whole Continent. Britain answered the gesture by asking for more detailed information as a basis for immediate negotiations.

On May 9 I ventured the prediction that Hitler would not reply to Britain's note. I wrote, 'To make a grandiose offer but to postpone negotiations which might make that offer more than mere words — until the next fait accompli — appears to be a German tactic.' For that suspicious statement I was called to task by many friends of Germany in this country. But the prediction has thus far been

sustained. Hitler, in April, fired a huge propaganda bomb into the air. It made a very handsome display at the moment. But since then he has done nothing, except to avoid any negotiations and watch the course of events.

What all this seems to prove is that the *status quo* in Europe can be maintained precisely as long as those interested in sustaining it are prepared to use force. Litvinov and Mussolini apparently realize that more clearly than does Mr. Eden or M. Blum. Behind their realization, of course, lie certain ruthless realities — that in the immediate sense the maintenance of the *status quo* is more important to both Russia and Italy than it is to England or to France. Italy has proved, and Russia may prove, what Pilsudski, the Polish leader, himself a believer in force and in the *fait accompli*, saw the moment Hitler came to power — that with present-day Germany, force, and force alone, will accomplish results. ‘Shall it be peace or war?’ said that hard-boiled and realistic old soldier. And Hitler chose peace and signed a ten-year pact.

But pacts based upon force and upon constantly competing armaments are not peace. They are truces, they are armistices, they are nothing more.

July 11, 1936

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

July 17, 1936

A militarist revolt, which began in Spanish Morocco, across the Mediterranean, has spread to Spain.

July 19, 1936

In Spain, troops of the Foreign Legion from Morocco landed at Cadiz. The garrisons at Seville and in Andalusia joined the monarchist revolt. At Madrid there were three cabinets in twenty-four hours. The loyal troops and armed civilians defeated the rebels at the capital with heavy losses.

July 23, 1936

Britain warned Spain to keep its fleet out of the internationalized harbor at Tangier, Morocco.

July 25, 1936

In Spain the Fascist general staff (rebel army chiefs) set up a provisional political administration in the northern provinces under their control.

Pattern of a Revolution

AS SPAIN rocks with civil war and the Fascist forces approach Madrid, one is moved to ask what explains the weakness of the Spanish Republic, which, established in 1931, seemed at the time a liberal white hope.

The Spanish revolution has followed a pattern now all too familiar. Conservative Spain, represented by the monarchy, betrayed itself as incompetent, frivolous, lacking in character,

discipline, social conscience, and hence in prestige. The Moroccan War was really to prove fatal to the dynasty, because it delivered the power in Spain into the hands of the military in the person of Primo de Rivera. Against this raw military dictatorship, there was a popular revolt. It was led by the flower of Spanish intellectuals; its spiritual fathers were the great Spaniards and great Europeans of contemporary thought, such men as Unamuno and Ortega y Gasset, and its first cabinet was formed of rebels who were in jail. They issued from prison in 1931 to proclaim the Spanish Republic and set up a government of extreme liberalism, which glorified the things which the liberal intellectual most prizes: education, free speech, a free press and assembly, the divorce of Church and State, protection for all minorities, bountiful concessions to labor, while generously allowing the forces representing the Church, the army, the nobility and entrenched tradition to continue to exist, however curtailed. The first Republican cabinet recalls that of Count Michael Karolyi, who was to prove to be Hungary's Kerensky. It represented the intellectual élite of Spain, plus labor — the trade unions and the Socialists.

But the civil liberties so generously accorded the people of Spain were not used to support the Republic of the Men of Good Will. Socialists, Communists and radical syndicalists --- trade-unionists, who believed in direct action — were not satisfied with a program of peaceful evolution through education. The generous free speech accorded was used both by the Right and by the Left as a means for continual and virulent agitation, and very soon the opponents of oppression became themselves, in the half-hearted way of a bad conscience, oppressors in a vain attempt to maintain some public order.

The government itself was full of division. Next to the radical labor leader Caballero sat Zamora, a pious Roman Catholic, who objected violently to the dissolution of the Order of the Jesuits.

And finally the real leader of the cabinet, Azana, a liberal who believed in free speech even for those who were bent on destroying it, was outvoted and overthrown in Parliament. Azana had thought that the essential feudal structure of his country could be changed without revolution. This failed. He outlawed the Church, but he did not destroy it; he abolished titles of nobility, but not the nobles; he made a grandiose constitution on paper, but lacked men with the skill, experience and ruthlessness to carry it out. And while he struggled against the still vital vestiges of the old régime, he was forced to suppress bloodily a radical uprising near Cadiz. This led to his downfall.

The government of intellectuals and Men of Good Will fell. Alejandro Lerroux, who succeeded Azana, was a modern Catiline, who knew the technique of appealing to the masses while preparing to use them in quite different ways. The traditional forces were by no means above using him. Son of an army horse doctor, journalist, war profiteer (who turned Spain's neutrality to good account during the World War, to sell supplies to both French and Germans), soldier of fortune, obsessed with money and power, he threw in his fortunes with an educated Catholic doctrinaire, Gil Robles, and together they captured the State after another interval of civil war, in which some hundreds of people were killed.

Now, at last, the forces of the Left began to coalesce: liberals, intellectual Republicans, Socialists of Right and Left wings, Communists — whose numbers had grown with the vigorous interference of Russian agents — and syndicalists, who are anarchistic followers of Bakunin. The parliamentary method was still open, and in the elections of February 1936 the first 'Popular Front' government in the world was set up in Spain. Its head was, again, Azana. But, as in France, the extreme Left refused to accept responsibility in the government, preferring to remain outside and to agitate. Thus, no social peace was

achieved. In the five months since the elections, one strike has followed another. Inside the cabinet the same debate, evolution or revolution, has gone forward. The industrialists have shown themselves without leadership and willing to try to accept compromise, first with Lerroux, later with Azana. The schisms within the Popular Front have been apparent to the representatives of traditional Spain, for Socialists, liberals, and syndicalists have openly fulminated against one another. Social disorder has paralyzed economic life. Capital has fled the country. The revolutionary movement, first fostered by the liberals, passed out of the control of its leaders in many places. For weeks the government warned the leaders of the socialist trades unions that their violent Marxism and their paralyzing strikes would alienate the people, especially the peasants, from the Republic, and that in the midst of such disorder the government could not go ahead with constructive reform.

The answer to chaos is again the Man on Horseback. Spain is apparently finished with the parliamentary method — for this moment, at least, in history. The men who are marching on Madrid will, if they succeed, call new elections, if at all, under the same system used by Mr. Hitler — vote Yes or vote nothing. Their program is extremely simple. It is to establish order. The simplest form of order, the easiest to maintain: military order, based upon force, with no nonsense about civil liberties. Their program was enunciated in Wednesday morning's papers by General Mola: 'A strong military republic... a huge army, equivalent to any in Europe... for the Fatherland, its rightful place in the sun.' And if they do not succeed, there will probably be, not the democratic socialism of the men of the Athenaeum Club, but socialism based upon force. Education... evolution... agrarian reform... democracy. Where will they be?

July 30, 1936

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

August 1, 1936

France urged Britain and Italy to stay out of the Spanish Civil War.

August 3, 1936

The United States State Department warned all Americans to quit Spain now. The German battleship Deutschland and a destroyer arrived at Ceuta, Morocco. At Moscow, Russia, 100,000 workers demonstrated at Red Square in favor of the Spanish anti-Fascists.

August 10, 1936

British warships patrolled the Strait of Gibraltar to prevent fighting, and forbade further battles in the Bay of Gibraltar.

Spain and Neutrality

WHAT is threatening in Europe is not war on the pattern of 1914, however similar national alignments may be. At the center of everything is the Class War, and the exploitation of the Class War by certain countries for national and imperial purposes. Reading the dispatches from Spain, and from Paris, London, Moscow, Berlin and Rome, one thing springs immediately into prominence: in an international situation which is full of dynamite it is this time not the diplomats, not the governments who are pushing toward the *débâcle*. It is the peoples, the masses themselves, who are taking sides and making neutrality exceedingly difficult.

The foreign offices of France, Great Britain and Russia are fully impressed with the gravity of the moment. They are getting together, and inviting Italy and Germany to join in a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of Spain. But in no country in Europe, and not even in the United States, is there a detached view on the part of the masses, nor the feeling that the affairs of Spain are, can, or should be purely the domestic concern of that country.

The Russian government pledges non-interference, but the Russian masses parade in the Red Square; the Russian trade unions prepare to tax every Russian worker to raise a huge fund to help the Spanish Leftist government. The French government urges a pact of eight nations to promise hands off, but Frenchmen are today joining the Spanish government forces, and tomorrow other Frenchmen may be joining the Spanish Fascists.

Britain is in the most serious dilemma, for the victory of neither side in Spain can be to the advantage of the British Empire. But meanwhile the British trade unions prepare to send financial aid to the Spanish Loyalists. The trade unions of the United States demand international peace, and one union — the Amalgamated Clothing Workers — prepares to send money to the Spanish government.

To what extent can governments hold their peoples? The central aim of Russian foreign policy at this moment is to win the confidence of Great Britain, and hold Britain in the French-Russian-Czechoslovak group.

It is a matter of the most vital concern to Russia, fearing as she does an eventual struggle with both Germany and Japan. But can the Russian government restrain the sympathies of the Russian masses, who have been taught for nearly a generation that a world struggle between Communism and Capitalism is inevitable? Have not Russian children been officially brought

up to save their kopeks and contribute to the relief of fellow Communists, suffering all over the world? Is not Communism a world theory, a movement embracing the workers of the entire earth?

The dilemma of the French government is quite as serious. Can a government which came into power as a challenge to Fascism remain really neutral if another Fascist state threatens her on the south? What is neutrality? Can one prohibit the shipment of arms, and permit the shipment of men? Can one profess neutrality with a press which continually and bitterly takes sides? The issue, Communism, Socialism or Democracy versus Fascism, is *not* exclusively a Spanish domestic issue, no matter how much neutrality is preached. It is an issue everywhere in Europe today. It may be an issue here tomorrow. Therein lies the terrific danger to peace.

Even the Olympic games cannot be played in Berlin without the political issue looming. The German press does not concede American victories in the stadium, because they are partly victories of American Negroes. Hitler avoids congratulating the colored winners. Does anyone think that our Olympic team will come back from Germany with neutral feelings? No matter what they say to the ship reporters, they will come back, I predict, sharply divided, into those who are enthusiasts for Nazi Germany, impressed by the marvelous organization of that country, and those who are filled with outraged feeling against the introduction of race questions into democratic sportsmanship. Repercussions from the Olympics will vibrate long after the games are over.

Only in the Fascist countries are the people and the government policy at one. At one, that is to say, for all national purposes. If Hitler and Mussolini believe that it is desirable to force the issue now, or to allow the issue to force itself, they can do so. Inside the logic of Fascism, one can argue either way.

Mussolini and Hitler can say that their governments are purely national; that what other countries do is absolutely no concern of theirs, or they can say that Communism threatens to destroy the white race, and thus rally their peoples to a crusade. Or they can simply decide that for imperialistic purposes, now is the time to strike.

Mussolini's interest in Spain is purely an Italian interest. It is possible that collaboration with successful Spanish rebels would win him new footing in Africa. That would be his price. And that would certainly not be a matter of indifference to Great Britain. But Communism in Spain would also not be something which British Conservatives would welcome with enthusiasm. Democracy is being forced to choose between alternatives almost equally repugnant to the overwhelming number of people in the few democratic countries which are left. And nowhere is democracy itself taking the lead; nowhere is democracy itself offering a constructive program. It stands neutral in the midst of a world in which neutrality is rapidly ceasing to be anything more than a word.

August 8, 1936

Towards a Showdown

THE German National Socialists are a revolutionary party. A great deal of their technique has been taken over directly from the Third International. The technique of Germany is to support unofficially, but by every possible influence and propaganda, rebellion against governments in the territories which it wishes to bring under its influence. Together with Italy, Germany has done this in Spain, intervening, at the outset, and definitely, with armed assistance to the rebels, as there is evidence to show.

The result is to make all liberal or conciliatory policies impossible; to coalesce opposition behind the more radical Left ele-

ments, thus to increase the forces of Communism, and thus to furnish a ground for a holy crusade. For the Fascist dictatorships the best thing that can possibly happen is the outbreak of Communism in any country where they have interests. For the campaign against Russia, the Communist issue is essential; it is the rallying cry; it is the new shibboleth; it is the banner under which peoples are being prepared for war.

It is necessary to keep on pointing out the revolutionary nature of National Socialism, because its propaganda, that it represents forces of law and order as opposed to the revolutionary activity of Communism, has widespread acceptance in liberal countries. More and more the democratic countries are asked to 'choose.' And it is time we asked, 'To choose what?'

National Socialism is, like Communism, a system of collectivism. Its more candid spokesmen, like Doctor Goebbels, do not hesitate to call it collectivism, to admit its collectivism and call it socialism. On Friday last, Doctor Joseph Goebbels, opening the radio exhibition in Berlin, described the régime in Germany as 'A Socialist Racial State.'

National Socialism, like Communism, claims to be a world theory. It is true that every once in a while an official spokesman denies that it is an export article, but the continual propaganda which it makes everywhere belies this.

From Germany emanates constantly a stream of propaganda which permeates every country, including our own, to the effect that all radical tendencies, with which are lumped all forms of liberalism, emanate from the Jews, and that the only way of preserving nationalism is to preserve it along Nazi lines. That means: to overcome republicanism, crush representative government, eliminate minorities and establish a racial collectivism under an all-powerful state, with complete control over the whole of economic and social life, under dictatorship. The myth of National Socialism is entirely different from the myth of

Communism. But the collectivist state which it establishes bears a closer resemblance to the Bolshevik state than it does to any form of democratic government.

That Communism has become a stalking horse for the Fascist countries is illustrated by the latest moves between Germany and Italy. Doctor Goebbels, whose control over the German press, radio and every other form of communication is complete, got together on Saturday with Gino Alfieri, the Italian press minister, to plan a joint campaign against Communism. Significantly enough, this conference follows upon the decision of Mr. Hitler to stop his persecution of the Roman Catholic Church. The reason is obvious: the Catholic Church is on the side of the rebels in Spain; it is therefore at this moment an ally; it is therefore necessary to reverse a policy.

But one may well ask: Why are Germany and Italy joining their forces in a campaign against Communism? Are their own countries threatened? Have not the forces of Communism been utterly uprooted in Germany and in Italy? Who, then, are these countries trying to save? Not themselves, certainly. They want to become the world's saviors.

They are establishing a basis for another alliance and another crusade, simply that and nothing more. The reasons are national and imperial. They will seek to represent Russia as a warlike power, ready to step out and conquer the world. There is no evidence to support this. Russia is a country of vast area, without territorial ambitions. The recent purge in Moscow of the most active Leftist element indicates that in its Byzantine way Moscow is washing its hands of revolutionary Communism in other countries. By the very nature of its composition, Soviet Russia has everything to lose and nothing whatever to gain by war. Let us keep that in mind, when the time comes that we are asked to support a war to make the world safe against Communism. The democratic world would make a grave mistake

should it seek the collaboration of one collectivist revolutionary régime to save it from another collectivist revolutionary régime.

September 1, 1936

Ode to Reason

THERE was a speech made on Wednesday at the Harvard Tercentenary Conference of Arts and Sciences which ought to be reprinted in pamphlet form. The speaker was Professor Étienne Gilson, of the University of Paris, one of the world's best-known scholars on medieval thought, and he spoke on 'Medieval Universalism.' His address was a brilliant plea for the values which are most challenged in the world at this moment: for the re-establishment of reason as the only unifying force amongst men; for the rejection of the idea that truth is the instrument of any state, nation, race or economic or social system; for the elevation again of the conception that there are certain universal values, the quest for which, by realistic and rational methods, is the noblest and most fruitful work of man.

Professor Gilson comes from Europe, and he spoke with the feeling and apprehension of one who lives in the midst of a revolution which threatens to sweep away the very basis of the civilization in which we live. In his speech he made perfectly clear what that basis is. Its foundation is the belief that there is a spiritual order of reality, 'whose absolute right it is to judge even the State, and eventually to free us from its oppression.' And he said: 'The conviction that there is nothing in the world above universal truth lies at the very root of our mental and social liberty.' If it goes, he warned, there will be nothing to protect us against the worst kind of slavery to which mankind is now being submitted by totalitarian states — mental slavery.

In very different words, Professor Gilson echoed the thoughts which were expressed some weeks ago in the epistle of the

dissident Protestant clergy in Germany. Such ideas also lay behind the refusal of Oxford and Cambridge Universities to participate in the quincentennial celebration at the University of Heidelberg this year. They are the conceptions that truth, morality, social justice and beauty are necessary and universal in their own right. They cannot be true alone for a certain social organization and economic system, or for a certain nation or for a certain race. Their validity must be universal. The only conceivable source of culture and learning, the only possible spring of real progress, is in freedom of mind to continue in a search for such universally valid truths.

Professor Gilson says that we have lost our common faith; that we have lost our common art. And we are now in danger of losing even our common science, and exchanging it for state-controlled dogmas. That condition of affairs has already been reached in a large part of what was once the civilized world. It exists in all the dictatorships, whether they call themselves Fascist, or Nazi, or Communist. Russian education today is ruled by certain dogmas which are not open to debate. It is a dogma that there are no racial inequalities. Atheism, the belief in the non-existence of God, has been elevated into a dogma, however negative, which takes up aspects of the Church at its lowest point. Whole systems of philosophy are banned from the universities altogether. An economic theory is universally taught and its acceptance imposed by force. Although vast new frontiers of industrial organization and applied science are opened up, a vise is clamped upon the independent inquiring spirit, out of which the revolution itself sprang, and already the effects manifest themselves in a singular tightness and bigotry of mind.

Similarly, in Germany, a national myth and a racial dogma are imposed upon all of education and all of science; the very idea of universal truth is abrogated. There is one truth and one

justice for Germans, another for non-Germans; one truth for Gentiles and another for Jews. There is German art and other art; German beauty and other beauty. And the same withdrawal from universality is characteristic of the prevailing minds in Italy.

It is well that attention should be called to the fact that democracy has philosophic implications. Professor Gilson quoted the French philosopher, Jules Lachelier, as saying that democracy was based upon the kind of theocracy that William Penn once established in the forests of Pennsylvania. That theocracy asserted that if men declined to accept from God the principles of their social conduct they were bound to accept them from the king or the State, or from their own race or their own social class. That these principles must derive from a source above the State, from the search of the free mind through the only instrument which it possesses, reason, was recognized by the makers of America, themselves philosophers, and embodied in the Bill of Rights.

The test which the mind applies to every question must be the test of reality; of validity measured through reason by reality. And yet the dogmatists call those weak who choose the harder, the more rigorous way.

September 5, 1936

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

August 24, 1936

In Germany, the term of compulsory military service was extended to two years.

September 9, 1936

The German National Socialist Party annual convention opened at Nuremberg. Chancellor Hitler spoke for peace.

New York Herald Tribune *September 10, 1936*

Hitler Calls for Colonies; New Program Defies Russia — Tells Party Congress at Nuremberg Reich Must Have Dependencies It Held Before World War — Avers Bolsheviks Forced Rearming — Launches Four-Year Plan to Make Germany Self-Supporting; Condemns Democracies as Decadent.

October 3, 1936

Germany, at Wilhelmshaven, claimed its first modern battleship since the World War — the Scharnhorst, 26,000 tons.

Claims of Dictatorship

I HAVE waited to comment on Hitler's proclamation at the Nuremberg Party Congress until the German newspapers should reach here and I should have an official German text before me. Now the papers are here, and the text baffles the imagination. I doubt if ever a speech was made in history insulting to a larger number of nations and insulting to ordinary intelligence as well.

The speech contains a long list of the specific claims of the German dictatorship. Were these claims tenable, Mr. Hitler would stand as the greatest miracle man in history, and a most powerful argument would be made for dictatorship everywhere. Inside Germany not one of them will be challenged in any newspaper or any platform or in any publication. Outside Germany it is more difficult to contest them because all the facts are not known. But they ought to be analyzed on the basis of what is known because the people of the democratic world have been treated to very misleading propaganda.

Mr. Hitler's insults to Russia are one thing. They are *sui generis*. As Sir Austen Chamberlain — who will not be accused of pro-Soviet tendencies — remarked, 'It will be difficult to find a parallel for such a gross attack by the rulers of one country upon the government of another.' But these remarks were given wide notice here and need not be gone into. What was not so generally noted was that Mr. Hitler did not confine his caustic comments to Russia. He embraced in his disdain all the nations of Europe 'with the exception of one great power [Italy] and a few other countries.' 'Everywhere else,' he said, 'we see the spasms of Bolshevist revolution.'

That 'everywhere else' is an insult to every democratic country in Europe, including the 'Great Power' of England, which with free institutions is enjoying unparalleled domestic prosperity and social unity. Bolshevism looms as an immediate threat only in Spain, where German intervention has increased its menace; in France there is social disorder precipitated by the fear of German Fascism and by the persisted-in deflation. But it is still a long cry from Bolshevism.

The many claims which the Nazi government makes for the support of its people and the admiration of the rest of the world display Germany under dictatorship as a modern Eden. Unemployment has been reduced from six million to one million. The

dispossession of German peasants has ended, and the agricultural income is higher than in any previous year of peace; trade has increased; the German port towns are lively with shipbuilding; many factories have doubled, tripled and quadrupled their workers; automobile factories are increasing tremendously; and motor cars will increase from 45,000 in 1932 to 250,000 this year; the deficit of states and cities has been removed; the Reich has an increased tax revenue of five billions; the German Reich has roads unequaled anywhere in the world. These are the high points of the Fuehrer's claims.

What is there in them?

1. The International Labor Office recently reported that German citizens had been removed from the unemployment rolls in the following manner: by absorption in increased business largely due to the immense armament program which is busy manufacturing goods of no use to Germans except to fight with; by spreading work in the factories, whereby more people work but for less average weekly wage; by increasing the army eight-fold and introducing universal compulsory two-year military training; by removing women from industry; by work camps which demand compulsory service of all young men for a stated period; by the forced emigration of over sixty thousand Jews.

2. The peasants have been saved from foreclosure by completely limiting their ownership rights; no peasant may raise credit on his land, mortgage it or sell it. Nor may he sell his products to anyone except government agencies at fixed prices, and he must deliver fixed quotas. Agriculture enjoys a monopoly of the domestic market at the cost of high food prices and definite shortage to the urban consumer.

3. Trade has been restored to almost the position which it occupied when Hitler came into power at the bottom of the depression. Today trade is on the increase everywhere in the world. German trade under the Republic surpassed the figures of 1913.

4. Ships are being built and the government is paying heavy deficits for their building. The whole merchant marine has been socialized, and the amount of the deficit is kept secret.

5. Production is enforced, by government order, many factories being compelled to undertake reorganization at a loss. Armament orders are making others prosperous.

6. In England which Hitler referred to disdainfully under his blanket indictment, the number of automobiles has increased from 223,000 in 1931 to 348,000 in 1934. Last year Germany had less than half as many automobiles as England, in spite of the fact that automobiles in Germany are exempted from taxation because their widespread ownership is desired for military purposes, and in spite of the fact that there has been a vast increase of party and army orders for motor cars. There are more automobiles in democratic France, with less than two-thirds of Germany's population.

7. The deficits of states and cities have been taken over by the federal government and thus 'removed.' Debts owed to foreign creditors have been 'frozen.'

8. The Reich certainly has an increased tax revenue. The income tax begins at a wage or salary of 900 marks (\$225) a year, on which a flat ten per cent is paid. With compulsory party contributions and the compulsory social insurances, the total taxes are thirty per cent of such an income.

9. The great housing program which Hitler points to with pride has not proceeded faster than under the great building days of the Republic. Democratic England has rehoused fifty per cent of her entire population since 1918; Holland and Sweden are almost completely rebuilt. All without dictatorship.

Mr. Hitler also made some grandiose claims for the renaissance of German culture. About that it is more difficult to judge. But so far not a single novel or play of international recognition has emerged from Nazi Germany.

But there is one claim that cannot be denied. 'There is not a Socialist, a Communist, a Center Party, or a bourgeois party member left in Germany.' That claim cannot be disputed.

And one item Mr. Hitler failed to mention. He did not claim to have balanced the budget, although he might have made the claim and no one could have contradicted it. No budget has been published since he came into power. What the national debt is, nobody knows. And if anyone did, he would be sent to prison for publishing it, I suppose, under the law of 'divulging information damaging to the interests of the nation.'

September 28, 1936

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

August 14, 1936

The French Parliament adjourned, having passed laws providing for the forty-hour week, collective bargaining between employers and trade unions, paid vacations, nationalization of armaments manufacture, prolongation of the school age, reform of the statutes of the Bank of France, penalties for fiscal evasion, revision to some degree of taxes, control of prices, formation of a wheat board and the organization of the coal market.

The Resiliency of Democracy

THE rapid evolution of public opinion in France in the last few weeks deserves to be studied, because it indicates what are the limits to which democracy will go in condoning the dominating influence of one extreme or the other. The amazing thing about the French situation — studied in the light of recent history in other countries with shorter traditions of democratic government — is that despite the fact that aggressive groups have emerged at both Right and Left, an equilibrium *is* being kept. And apparently it is being kept by that vague thing, public opinion, and by the much-criticized instruments of democratic control — the Senate, Chamber and a parliamentary government — upon which public opinion demonstrably works.

When M. Blum came into power as the first Socialist premier of France, at the head of a coalition embracing all the Left and supported by the Communists, there seemed an obvious danger that the Communists, most aggressive of the lot, would turn the victory into an exclusive one for themselves. This was the opinion

voiced in the dictatorships and still proclaimed in this country by Mr. Hearst. The way in which the new government tolerated the absolutely illegal occupation of the factories and the shops by the workers in the folded-arms strike gave support to their argument. For a few days it seemed as though the 'bloodless revolution' would be accomplished.

But it now looks as though this toleration of illegal action was possible only because it was supported by a very considerable public opinion. The French public who, like our own, were unaware of actual conditions among the workers, were amazed to learn how very bad they were. They were convinced that most of the material demands of the workers were justified on purely humane grounds. This was reflected in the entire Paris press, which, despite its capitalistic interests, was relatively mild in criticism. As a result the strike, which engaged practically the whole of industry, passed without any serious public disorder and ended in victory for the workers.

But when it came to intervention in Spain the Left government took exactly the opposite course to the one to be expected. In logic, one would have presumed that a Left government which owed its power to a wave against Fascism, which was supported by Communists and which had sound legal grounds for sending aid to the legally elected and diplomatically recognized government of the Spanish Loyalists, would have done so. Fascism in Spain, supported by Germany and Italy, threatened more than the social principles of the French Left. It was and is threatening to French nationalism. And yet the Blum government resisted the demands of its Left supporters and took the lead in proposing a neutrality pact to Europe. The neutrality proposal was a recognition that the public opinion for peace was stronger than the hatred of Fascism. The same people who had registered themselves a few weeks before as unalterably opposed to Fascism in France were unwilling to engage in an anti-Fascist crusade

abroad. And the Left government recognized and responded to this feeling.

That the government had the correct intuition is indicated by the fact that when the Communists, having voted for neutrality, began to show divided feelings in the matter, they rapidly lost ground. It appears that the French satirical adage, 'Always to the Left, but no further,' is true even with Communists in power, as long as the expression of opinion is not bottled up.

The reaction which has followed the international stabilization agreement and the devaluation of the franc is again a remarkable demonstration of the authority, power and susceptibility of democratic instruments. The agreement was a direct repudiation of the government's campaign promises, but the government has not fallen on this issue. It was demonstrated that in spite of the fact that all parties were pledged to maintain the gold franc, there was a general public realization that things could not go on as they were and that the international and political aspects of devaluation outweighed immediate individual interests. Paul Reynaud, the former Conservative Finance Minister, himself a devaluationist, summed up the feeling when he said, 'This is our last card, but we must play it well.'

The danger of devaluation made by a Left government, which is a prey to demagogic pressure, was — and still is — considerable. Devaluation is in itself an inflationary measure, and if it is accompanied by automatic and drastic increases in the wage scale, as recommended to M. Blum by the Communists, it will bring no progress in recovery. The precedents all show that prices do not rise in exact ratio to devaluation and that stability does not therefore demand such drastic and automatic action. The pressure on the Blum government to undertake price and wage regulations was immediately made by his Left-wing supporters. In fact, the Communists had only voted for devaluation for fear of disrupting the Popular Front, and wished immediately to be compensated for their vote.

But the public, which accepted the devaluation of the franc with such docility, was not prepared to accept the price- and wage-fixing agreements proposed. Devaluation has been accompanied by an almost intuitive swing to the Right, which registers in spite of the fact that a Left government is in power. M. Blum has the choice either of complying with the tendency or of resigning. The Senate again asserts its authority and the government is helpless, because this time the Senate has public opinion with it.

The events, telescoped in France into a few days, are not unlike what has happened here. In France M. Blum acted under very difficult conditions. He has not, like President Roosevelt, enjoyed full power delegated by a quiescent Congress. He has no safe majority in the upper house, and himself heads a government of disparate elements. But there, as here, the public has shown itself disposed to go only a certain distance and apparently rejects, before it is tried, a French version of the N.R.A.

Furthermore, attempts to renew the stay-in strike are meeting this time with a completely different attitude on the part of the government, simply, one suspects, because they no longer have the tacit support of a considerable public opinion. Apparently France thinks that the movement toward the Left has gone far enough. This offers little comfort to the Fascists, however, for the anti-Fascist feeling is as strong today as when the Popular Front was elected. Colonel de la Rocque, the Fascist leader, admits it by denouncing the Communists as 'Fascists of the Left' and calls his own group now 'the French Social Party.'

Since the riots of February 1934 many people have been expecting that the same process which took place in Germany in 1933 might occur in France. It is certainly too early to conclude that it will not. But the events since M. Blum came in prove that the inherent strength in old democratic institutions and in a ventilated public opinion is not exhausted.

They also appear to prove that revolutions cannot be made as long as these forms are retained. Democracies are not revolutionary. A government with a revolutionary program may be voted in by the people, as it was in Germany. But it cannot go beyond limits as long as public opinion is functioning. As long as the democratic instruments are retained, even if they are subjected to widespread and cynical criticism, it will be demonstrated that there are bounds which government cannot transgress, and that there is a consensus of opinion with which it must conform if it is to stay in power. That is being demonstrated in the campaign here. Mr. Roosevelt ought to know at the end of it just how much the American people will stand for.

Apparently Leon Trotsky is right when he says that when the Communist revolution compromises with democracy it cuts its own throat.

October 7, 1936

1937

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

January 2, 1937

Italy and Great Britain signed a Mediterranean accord whereby they agreed: to work in the interests of peace for better relations between them and all Mediterranean powers; to recognize freedom of navigation on the sea, of vital interest to both nations; to disclaim any desire to modify present territorial sovereignty in the Mediterranean; and to affirm that the pact 'is not directed against any other power.'

New York Times

January 12, 1937

FRENCH OUTPLAYED HITLER IN MOROCCO — Finding Troops Were Coming Paris Pursued a Course as if They Had Arrived — PRESS STRESSED TENSION — French Army in Area was Put on War Basis and Advanced on the Spanish Zone — By Augur.

The Germans in Morocco

ON THE thirteenth of June 1929 Gustav Stresemann, Foreign Minister of the German Republic, entered in his diary in Geneva: '8.30 P.M. Visited Primo. Mannesmann.'

That brief note meant that Mr. Stresemann had had a session with Primo Rivera, then dictator of Spain, concerning the valuable iron-ore mines in Morocco which were the property of the Mannesmann brothers. So important did the German foreign minister regard these mines to be that time and again he extorted from a not too willing Reichstag subsidies for the German capitalists which made it possible for them to hold their property. German interests in Morocco did not begin with Mr. Hitler.

The Germans have, of course, as much right to exploit these mines as British capitalists have to exploit their famous copper deposits at Rio Tinto in Spain proper. Economic exploitation requires men, engineers, technicians and guards. But men, engineers and guards can be used for other purposes than the protection and exploitation of mines, particularly if the nation to which they belong has recognized as the legitimate government of Spain a rebellion which is not yet in possession of the country that it claims to rule, and if the interests of the mine-owners, and the rebels, have coalesced. One nation does not usually aid another nation except for reasons of 'sacred ego.' And in Fascist dictatorships, unlike democracies, the mine-owners, the government, the military and the workers are all part of a totalitarian plan for general national aggrandizement, totally uncontrolled by the checks of domestic public opinion. Therefore, engineers, technicians, workers, guards *may* be engaged merely in mining iron and protecting that activity, or they *may* be engaged in military organization, and that military organization *may* be for measures of local defense compatible with existing treaties, or they *may* be the jumping-off place for adventures of another sort.

The French and the British had reason to believe that the Germans, whose numbers were suddenly increased in Morocco, were there not merely to get out raw materials. Specifically, they feared that they were there to assist General Franco to break the 1912 treaty between Spain and France, and begin fortifying Ceuta, as a menace to Gibraltar. Reports from Morocco indicated that industrial exploitation was being combined with political propaganda among the Arabs; anti-Semitic literature was being distributed — incidentally with the assistance of French Fascists, for the Fascists have their own International, their own Fascintern, a fact which the world persistently refuses to see and believe, thinking that only Communists are revolu-

tionists and all Fascists are loyal and conservative patriots. Distributing Hitler's 'Mein Kampf' and agitating the Arabs against the Jews is not immediately related to mining ore. And some sort of military activities were going on — *perhaps* to make a zone secure as a base for Franco's operations, which would be legally legitimate, but *perhaps* for offensive purposes.

It was clearly to prevent these military activities from reaching a stage where they would become a serious international menace, possibly entailing open international war, that the French government launched the barrage of publicity and mobilized troops.

We must believe that there was real reason to fear such a menace. The Blum government is not alarmist. The German accusations that France is aiding and abetting a Bolshevik movement in Europe and underwriting Russian activities in Spain are not true. There are certainly thousands of Frenchmen whose sympathies are passionately with the Loyalists, and who would be the opponents of Franco whether the Spanish government was Communist or Republican; the sympathies of most of France are with the Loyalists; France is anti-Fascist; but the French people want peace, they do not want to be entangled in a war, and M. Blum knows that. If the French Communists had their way M. Blum's government would fall tomorrow. The appeal of the French government has consistently been for non-intervention, and M. Blum has held his Communists in hand quite extraordinarily.

When I passed through Calais last month workmen were pasting up on the billboards huge posters signed by the Popular Front government warning the people against hysteria and urging them to stick together for non-intervention. France is a democratic country, with parties, a free press, a parliamentary system, and the government has to carry public opinion with it and respond to it. There is no question where that public opinion lies.

Therefore the move in the Moroccan affair can only be inter-

preted as a bold attempt at prevention of a future crisis. And it worked — as bold moves against Mr. Hitler invariably do. When Pilsudski mobilized in the Westerplatte affair and told Mr. Hitler he could choose peace or war, Mr. Hitler chose peace and signed a ten-year truce with Poland. When Mussolini mobilized at the time of the Dollfuss murder, and announced that a Nazi Austria would mean war, Mr. Hitler chose peace and retreated. Yesterday he did not have to retreat, but he was, perhaps, prevented from taking a position from which retreat might not have been easy, for himself or for the rest of Europe. So the air is once again somewhat cleared.

January 13, 1937

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

January 8, 1937

A United States embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain came into effect with President Roosevelt's signature to a joint Congressional resolution.

May 1, 1937

President Roosevelt signed the Neutrality Bill. The enactment takes the place of the neutrality legislation that expired by limitation at midnight.

The Unneutrality Bill

I

It is expected that some time this week the Pittman resolution will be favorably reported out of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate. Under its terms wartime commerce is rigged in favor of the great monopolies, international industries and international banking houses, as against the smaller manufacturer who keeps his capital and employs his labor at home. The bill also will extend to the President the very great power of deciding what, anywhere in the world, constitutes a state of war, whether international or civil, thereupon giving him enormous controls over our entire foreign trade. The bill, furthermore, definitely favors, in wartime, that country or those countries which can control the seas, extending to it or to them special privileges which other belligerents cannot enjoy. It also extends special privileges to those nations, or their nationals, who hold credits in this country, or operate industries or exploit natural resources

here. The bill is called a neutrality law and is designed to keep us out of war. *I submit that its measures have nothing to do with neutrality, and that it is extremely likely to serve exactly the opposite purpose for which it is designed.*

The bill contains four major provisions. (1) In case the President decides that a state of war, international or civil, exists anywhere, he may forbid the shipment of arms or implements of war from this country, and prevent loans of money to either belligerent. (2) He may extend the embargo to any other articles or materials considered essential to the conduct of war, such as cotton, steel, copper or, presumably, even food, except as they are paid for in this country, and all right and interest in them transferred from American to other nationals. This is the so-called 'cash and carry' clause. (3) Anything which the President may define as contraband can be banned from American ships, during war. And finally, (4) American nationals cannot depend upon the protection of the United States government if they travel in danger zones.

Now, what does this bill actually mean in practice? First of all, it means that we are flagrantly reversing the attitude expressed in the Kellogg Pact, which denounces aggression. We, the greatest, strongest single nation on earth, announce by implication that there is no such thing as 'right' or 'wrong' and no such thing as international morality. In advance of all possible hostilities, we perform the greatest Pontius Pilate act in history. We say by implication that morally speaking it is a matter of complete indifference to this country whether a large and strong nation deliberately overruns a weak one; the attacked is a belligerent as well as the attacker, and we shall furnish arms to neither of them, and possibly no food or basic raw materials either.

But then we qualify that stand of dubious morality. We say that we will sell goods to anybody who can come and get them.

That will mean in practice that we will sell goods to anybody who can control the high seas. That means, in the field of realistic politics, that as matters stand today, we will sell goods to Great Britain. Tomorrow, perhaps, Germany and Russia will make a great combination, build tremendous navies and set out to conquer the world; anything at all is possible. And in that case, it will mean that we will sell goods to them. Or it may mean that two warring countries, let us say Great Britain and Germany, are contending for the control of the high seas, and both buying goods in our ports. That will mean that they may be blowing up each other's ships just outside our harbors — or inside them!

The President may forbid American nationals to engage in almost any form of trade from this country, but the bill exempts non-Americans doing business in this country. This means that although we may embargo oil to any belligerent, British companies who own oil fields here or cotton plantations *can* sell oil or cotton to anyone they choose. It will also, in all probability, mean that Germans, French and others will set about purchasing oil fields here, as well as other sources of necessary raw materials. The possible complications arising from this baffle the imagination. Great Britain can have here a Rio Tinto as she has in Spain, or Germany a Mannesmann works as she has in Morocco, and in time of war both of them can be furnishing their own countries from our soil. And if we confiscate their holdings, what then? Will that help to make everything hotsy totsy? The President can forbid any American national to lend money to any belligerent government or person, but he cannot prevent foreign nationals with money in this country from spending it here to help their own side. And there are billions of foreign money here at this moment.

Under this bill the President can prevent John Smith, who has a single oil well in Texas, from selling oil to Spain, or Russia, or Great Britain, or any other country which happens to be engaged

at any moment in war, but he cannot prevent the great American oil companies, with fields and refineries all over the world — in Persia, Mexico, Venezuela, the Dutch East Indies or Rumania — from selling oil to anyone they please, and making tremendous profits, with which to come home from the wars and force the little fellows, whom the war has impoverished, into bankruptcy. Under this bill International Nickel, which is incorporated in Canada, but has a huge majority of American capital, can do all the business it likes. So, for instance, can Anaconda Copper. General Motors, which owns a majority of the stock in the German Opel Works, can go on manufacturing trucks for the German army, as it is doing at this moment, not in Detroit, but in Germany. The bill is an invitation to American capital to distribute itself around the world. If one grants the thesis that our entrance into the last war was exclusively caused by American financial interests — a thesis which is a great deal too simple except for the simple-minded — how is this bill going to prevent American capital from having an interest in the next war as well?

The bill is in direct contradiction to the policy of Mr. Cordell Hull, who is doing everything in his power to foster normal international trade, and is opposing the self-sufficiency program of Germany on the ground that economic self-sufficiency encourages war! But if other countries adopted bills similar to this, what would be left for countries poor in raw materials and foreign exchange except to copy and extend the German program?

We can tie up our hands all we please, in an attempt to predicate the next war on the history of the last; a history, incidentally, which recent interpretations have both clarified and befuddled. But whatever we do will generate counter-policies in other countries. They are not altogether stupid; they are also motivated by self-interest. I have suggested what some of their counter-policies may be. And there will be others, such as the storage of vast amounts of food and materials, with resultant

economic dislocations, and the opening-up of new sources of raw materials, which will militate against our interests.

The bill is badly named. It should be called: An Act to encourage autarchy, declare our alliance with whoever at the moment has the biggest navy and foster international finance capitalism at the cost of the small fellows at home.

February 24, 1937

II

Back of the present programs of neutrality legislation lies a modern interpretation of the history of our participation in the World War, according to which we were inexorably drawn into it for the protection of our wartime trade and the credits lent the Allies, a part of war history which was brilliantly described by Mr. Walter Millis in his 'Road to War.'

As far as I have been able to observe, the generation which has grown up since the war, with no personal memory of it, is inclined to accept this interpretation as covering the whole story. Both of the neutrality bills which are about to come up in Washington are based on the presumption that it was our neutral trade in wartime that led to our entrance into the war, and are designed to prevent our getting into the next war by that route. I believe that this legislation is of extreme importance, since it will both define our foreign policy and greatly affect our peacetime as well as our wartime trade, and will indeed influence our whole economic development. And this legislation is, I believe, based first of all upon an extremely misleading and inaccurate estimate of the causes of our entrance into the last war, and is likely to get us into any other world war with extreme speed.

The view that it was our trade and our trade alone that got us into the last war leaves out of account the most important of all factors — the human and emotional one. The American people abandoned their neutrality of *feeling* very early in the struggle,

and as it became apparent that the war might be an Armageddon, that feeling became so acute as to be hysterical. Pacifists were not cut dead by their friends; German opera and German opera singers were not howled off the stage; dachshunds were not stoned in the streets, long before we entered the war — because of J. P. Morgan's investments. That is much too simple an explanation.

That part of the American people of Anglo-Saxon stock, which was and still is one of the more numerous and influential groups of the population, discovered, as the war progressed, an intensity of feeling for the people from which they sprang. Those who were not racially allied with England or France discovered a cultural alliance, particularly with the former, which was real. It was — and still is — an alliance of language, of free institutions, of basic law. It is, I believe, much nearer the truth to blame Shakespeare, Keats, Dickens, Magna Charta and Blackstone for our entrance into the war than it is to blame the credit system. All of these were exploited to the utmost by British propaganda. Nor is it possible to see how this country could be closed to propaganda should another great war break out, unless we are prepared to establish a complete censorship over the entire press the moment hostilities begin, calling home all correspondents, and acting as though the rest of the world did not exist. It is unthinkable that the American people would submit to such a suppression of essential civil liberties short of complete dictatorship!

One has only to observe the intensity of feeling already engendered in some circles over the Spanish civil war to imagine how far war psychology could go if major hostilities broke out. Let us imagine, for instance, that there is a war in which England, France and Russia are allied against Germany and Japan! If such a war were prolonged for any time, it is my sincere belief that it would be impossible to keep feeling in this country from stampeding. In the last war it was the liberals, the radicals and those of

German extraction, notably large numbers of well-to-do and influential German Jews, who helped to cool the war fever. In such a line-up the liberals, radicals and German Jews would be among the first to take sides — the liberals, radicals, organized workers and German Jews against Nazism. The same emotional factors, the same political prejudices would operate as operated in the last war, but this time immensely augmented by the very groups who opposed our participation in 1914-17!

But, furthermore, the operation of neutrality legislation itself would immensely stimulate the war fever. Let us again reconstruct what happened in 1914. The declaration of war was followed by a financial panic. Sterling went overnight to \$6.05.

The financial panic would have been followed by a terrific depression in this country except for the fact that the belligerents immediately began to buy from us, so that war, instead of strangling our economic life, actually, and however insanely, stimulated it.

Making large profits, in which, incidentally, the entire working class participated, we stayed out of the last war for three years.

At the outbreak of another European war the same financial panic would inevitably ensue, from the catastrophic results of which we could only be saved by the stimulation of trade. And now we are asked to accept the thesis that it would be possible for the government — again, short of the most rigid dictatorship — to strangle that war trade which alone could save us from the most frightful depression. I submit that, again, the whole program rests upon a totally false reading of popular psychology. It rests on the thesis that for most people any condition is better than participation in a war. There are, indeed, ardent spirits who believe this, and who under whatever pressure would maintain that ideal. But there is nothing in all history to indicate a general acceptance of any such attitude. Most people would rather fight than starve. And faced by bankruptcy, unemploy-

ment, poverty and economic dictatorship this people would not wait three years to enter the war but would be in it, I gravely fear, in six months' time — as, under similar legislation, it would have been in the last one, not later, but much earlier!

Isolation from European entanglements has been an American policy since George Washington, and even the idea of the total embargo on everything to all belligerents has been tried before — by Jefferson. But the fact remains that there have been two comprehensive European wars since this republic was founded, and sooner or later we were in both of them: in 1812 and in 1917. We do not need neutrality legislation to keep us out of minor European fracascs. We have never got into them. And such neutrality legislation as is proposed will only hasten our participation in any major struggle.

There is only one way that we can be assured of peace, and that is to use the immense power and position of this country to see that no world war occurs, to act like a great nation, instead of behaving as though we were in the position of Denmark. Perhaps any effort we make will fail, but the effort at least will be in a sound direction. There are things which we can do, but we cannot possibly do them if the hands of the State Department are tied by such legislation as is being proposed.

February 26, 1937

III

It is, of course, utterly impossible to lay down a hard-and-fast program for preventing world war, but I believe that should a war of world proportions occur, any neutrality legislation which we may pass today cannot be counted on to keep us out of it, and will tie our hands, limit our influence and restrict our power which now, in time of peace, may be used to help prevent such a war from occurring. If war comes it will be statesmanship on the spot and not compulsion on the government to act in any rigid way

which will keep us out of it. We could, to be sure, frame an almost sure and fool-proof neutrality policy. If we decide that we do not care what happens in the rest of the world, and are determined to restrict our political, military and economic interests to this continent, we could do so. But no one has even suggested that we prepare to pay the prodigious price involved.

The neutrality bill thinks of us wholly as sellers, and not as buyers, in world trade. But large sections of American industry depend upon imported materials. The President, under the neutrality bill, is compelled, under certain conditions, to keep our ships out of war zones. Suppose there is a war involving Japan and England, and Japan manages to blockade British and Dutch possessions in the Far East, which are the chief source of our rubber supply. Without rubber our automobile industry collapses. Will we stand by in such a case?

American naval policy is certainly not confined to the defense of the American coast. Mr. Cordell Hull's policy is certainly not predicated on our withdrawal from world trade, but on precisely the opposite. And Mr. Hull is consistent. To the members of the Council on Foreign Relations, he said Thursday night that 'It is not beyond the power of statesmen today to check and reverse the drift toward world anarchy,' and he suggested the principles laid down at the Buenos Aires Conference as a basis for ending this anarchy. That means 'the loyal acceptance by nations of the rule of law, guarantees for the integrity of each, and implementing renunciation of war by methods of instantaneous co-operative action.' These are positive, and not negative, proposals.

So far as the Americas are concerned, this country has already entered upon a scheme for collective consultation and collective action in case a war threatens or breaks out on this hemisphere. But the proposed neutrality bills may possibly wreck even the results of the Buenos Aires Conference and even any scheme for

collaborative action between the Americas. For although both the House and Senate bills exempt the American republics from the arms and other embargoes in case of war between them and a non-American power, they make an arms embargo mandatory in case of war between two American republics.

Should, for instance, war break out between Argentina and Brazil, we would be forced to stop war supplies immediately to both belligerents. England, Germany, France or Italy, however, would be free to provision either or both of them, so that one or more European powers might determine the result of a war on this hemisphere. Conceivably, the result might be to turn an American republic into a new Spain, and all we could do would be to enforce a blockade. And that would almost certainly mean war, possibly of international proportions.

Also, under the terms of the Buenos Aires treaty we would immediately enter into conference with the belligerents and other American powers. But we would enter that conference with our hands tied. Before it started, we would remove from our representatives anything with which they could bargain. If all the South American republics should agree with us upon one course of action, and one should refuse to arbitrate, we would be compelled to treat the recalcitrant exactly like the rest. An emasculated state department could do little more to compel arbitration than speak noble words.

This country is not prepared to offer collaboration in the enforcing of peace upon the whole world. But then let us at least keep our heads clear, our tongues uncommitted and our hands free for whatever emergency may arise in this anarchic world. Legislation which compels the government to act in any rigid way to meet circumstances as yet completely unpredictable will, I am convinced, one day rise up to plague us.

March 1, 1937

A Toast to Thomas Mann

THERE was never a time when it was more deeply necessary to effect some fusion of the inner realities of the spirit and its experiences with the external world, the world of politics, diplomacy and economic struggle. The externalization of life has become overwhelming to the point of madness. One feels that in all the universe there is no quiet. The preoccupation with external affairs, pressing as they are, calling as they do for the utmost exertion of the intellect and will — that preoccupation is, I often feel, leading to a lack of balance in the personality itself. What I am trying to say is difficult for me to express, for it is something which is more a part of my subconscious feeling than of conscious thought. It is a feeling that in the struggle to deal with the problems of the world, and with man as a part of that world, we lose sight of man himself. Wholly externalized, the problems become mechanical. But man is not a machine. Though one may define him in physical terms as a composition of electrical energies, that does not describe him, and the soul remains a recognizable reality, though its hormones have not been isolated.

I am trying to put into words what seems to me to be a fact — the unhappiness, the spiritual malaise, the individual isolation of men and women in these times. It was expressed by D. H. Lawrence in the cry: 'I am wounded in my fundamental societal impulses.' It has been recognized often in the works of Thomas Mann. It is a recognition of the spiritual frustration of men. It is everywhere, poisoning all relationships. It is apparent in the confusion of the most simple and immediate relationship, the relationship of love between the individual man and woman; in the bitterness and acrimony of the struggle between groups and classes; in the mounting hatreds and misunderstandings between nations. It is as though the parable of the Tower of Babel had become a horrifying reality. For the genius of man is compe-

tent to produce a tower to touch the stars, but the collaborative effort to complete the work is foiled by the lack of spiritual communication. We have no common language of the heart and of the mind.

Surely the striving to create such a common language must be the concern and responsibility of the intellectual. And by the intellectual I mean the person for whom the world of the mind, in the largest sense, is the world of the most overwhelming reality. For only in that world can the struggle ever find solution. Only in that world can assumptions be found which have universal validity.

Either man is a piece of work noble in reason, infinite in faculty, or he is the quintessence of dust. And if he is the latter, let us eat and breed and fight and die and have done with it. But the belief that that is *not* man's function or man's fate is one of the fiercest human passions, and indeed we have come to measure the degree in which persons are human by the intensity of that passion: the intensity of the passion of humanity to *become* human, to fulfill some inner dream of its own dignity. Out of that passion has come all art, all form, all decorum, all culture, all aspiration, all achievement. Unless the intellectual keeps faith with that passion; unless the intellectual makes the demand, first upon himself, and through himself upon society, that men shall live with some image before them of their own perfectibility, with some aspiration to the more human-than-what-is, the intellectual betrays himself, his own revealed and inner truth, and through that failure the world is betrayed.

I say these words because the intellectuals have so many times betrayed themselves and betrayed the world. They have betrayed it in two ways. Either they have withdrawn from the tempests of society, forgetting that they, too, are men, and that their fate is man's fate, and from some ivory tower looked down with detached and arrogant egotism upon a struggle which they

despise; or they have thrown themselves into the struggle and in the struggle itself forgotten the goal, redoubling their zeal as they lose sight of their aim. The one keeps the image and the dream for his own narcissistic enjoyment. The other throws the image and the dream into the gutter. He becomes the mouthpiece of the mob; the mob of the poor or the mob of the rich, the mob of those frantically trying to hold their miserable goods, or the mob of those frantically trying to take a share. But the function of the intellectual in the external world is to appeal to *men*, to help create *men*, to dissolve the mob into men. In that struggle he takes sides; he must take sides. But if he is true to himself he takes sides in the service of an ultimate unity, keeping his eyes upon spiritual principles.

And so surely as that spirit animates him, and so surely as he is moved by passionate faith in man's appointment with his own dream, so surely do men hear him. In all the world today, his is the only voice to which men and women of all classes give spontaneous and voluntary attention. After the earthquake and the fire comes the still small voice. It is the voice of the fully human being speaking to himself and to other human beings, and men hear that voice, though it speaks ever so lightly and simply. They hear it with their hearts.

There is such a human being and such a voice in this room tonight. We are here tonight to pay tribute to Thomas Mann and to the spirit which he represents. He is a man more gifted than the rest of us, devoted to inward things, whose own talent and imagination would assure him, if he willed it, insulation from the painful struggle. He needs only a room, a desk, a pen and his own thoughts, memories and knowledge to create for himself a world far superior to this one where we live. But he has not willed to live so, but has torn himself from that world to assert his solidarity with the humanness of the human race. For that we are grateful.

But he does not ask our gratitude. Rather, I suspect, it embarrasses him. But what this meeting represents will *not* embarrass him. For it is an offer, not only of gratitude, but of collaboration. We have not his gifts, but we share his faith. And we will therefore drink, not to him, but to the triumph of the spirit he embodies.

April 20, 1937

[Address at the dinner of the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom.]

The Grouse on the English

'CONSIDER the English,' said the Grouse, from behind the breakfast newspaper. 'A most remarkable people. A nation, it is said, of shopkeepers. Producers of cotton textiles, woolen goods, coal, chinaware, the best men's clothes and worst women's, dealers in money, sharp traders, the ancestors of our own Yankees, who dealt in slaves and went to war to free them. Inhabiters of rows and rows of dingy little brick villas, each with a hedge to shield him from his neighbors. Prosaic and shrewd. Noted for common sense, and a philosophy glorifying self-interest. Also noted for a love of nature, a passion for poetry and the world's largest and best production of it. By and large a dull people, with a positive dislike of intellect. Yet producing intellectual giants. Haters of war, who have indulged in as much of it as any race on earth. And at present engaged in a most amazing circus.'

'I presume you are referring to the coronation.'

'The coronation is the world's greatest circus. With even the audience rehearsing. Voluntarily. Nobody makes 'em. Bishops and the archbishop; copes and scarlet; choir boys in blue coats and red stockings; fountains spraying perfume; eighteenth-century coaches; king with five pounds of jewels on his head, and peers crowning themselves all around him. The whole world agog

over a young man who six months ago was just a young *rentier*. Pomp and circumstance, with everyone who manufactures or trades or has a room to rent raking in the shillings thriftily.

‘And,’ continued the Grouse, ‘all this happening in a political democracy; where a king is shuffled off a throne most speedily and completely because the nation doesn’t approve of his girl friend; where forty-four per cent of the population call themselves Socialists and all except the Communists support the monarchy; where the Communist deputy arises in the House of Commons to add his memorial to the tribute for Austen Chamberlain, Tory of Tories; where every man is fanatically jealous of his personal political opinion and his individual rights, and yet, in a showdown, always thinks and acts like an Englishman.’

‘And what, I ask you, does it mean to think and act like an Englishman?’

‘A difficult question. Those who hate the British — and they are not innumerable, because Britain is powerful and strong — say it means to be a hypocrite. The French, a highly logical people, who admire the British but are baffled by them, say that it means not to think at all, but to move around muggily by intuition. But I am inclined to think that among a vast number of qualities, the outstanding English quality is to know when to give in.’

‘Now, that is an odd thought.’

‘Think it over. Britain has held together a huge amorphous empire, not altogether by kind words and coronets; oh, no; a lot of force has been employed. But just the same, whenever the point comes that it’s give in or suffer severe losses, Britain gives in, and always with the appearance of great generosity and as though she had always intended to do it anyway. So we have seen the transition from monarchical absolutism to constitutional government to a semi-socialist state with unparalleled smoothness, and the transition from centralized empire to a common-

wealth of sovereign nations with never a complete break. And that, my child, is a political wonder.

‘The British know, too, how to change the content and preserve the form. The crown, like our own Supreme Court, is a symbol of tradition and continuity in government. And, apropos the Supreme Court, if President Roosevelt were more English and less Dutch, he would also know when to give in. He’d be pleased as Punch if a couple of resignations or a switch of a vote accomplished his main purpose while preserving the traditional procedure. He would make the most gracious gesture. The members of the Supreme Court from Brandeis to Van Devanter have very strongly this consciousness of the importance of procedure, and it’s my guess that they will one way or another save the situation that the President has created, save the court and thereby, whether he knows it or not, save the face of the President — as Stanley Baldwin a few months ago saved the face of the king, against the king’s own will.

‘The English have ingrained in them two other things: respect for personality and a deep, probably unconscious sense of legitimacy in government. You can make any kind of change you like in government, provided you make it inside established principles. That’s what legitimate government is. And the crown is the symbol of that legitimacy. And because they feel this so deeply there has been only one revolution in England in a thousand years, and that ended in restoration and compromise.

‘There’s a window in an English cathedral — Winchester, I think — that seems to me as expressive as anything in England of the British. It was a great window, storied and painted, and Cromwell’s soldiers smashed it to bits. And after the soldiers had gone the people picked up the pieces and put them back again. There’s hardly a piece of glass as big as your hand, and the picture which was there could never be restored, but they saved every inch of the glass. The moral being that you can make a revolution in England, but England remains.’

The Grouse laid down the newspaper. 'It amuses me,' he said, 'to imagine what England would be like if they ever established Communism. I can see the London *Times*. There would be the court calendar, with the words, "Comrade His Majesty the King was pleased to receive today." . . . And certainly some comrade would write in from Great or Little Snoring to express his astonishment that another comrade had discovered a cuckoo singing earlier than a lark; and certainly we would hear Comrade Winston Churchill fulminating in the House on the counter-revolution in India or on the ideological heresies of Mr. Gandhi. I have no doubt that the royal garden parties would continue; Mappin and Webb would advertise cigarette cases monogrammed with hammers and sickles in rubies and pearls, and the chief commissar would probably be the son of an earl.'

'It all sounds a little mad.'

'It does, indeed,' said the Grouse. 'And the Mad Hatter was an Englishman, the March Hare an English beast and "Alice in Wonderland" remains the favorite English classic. The greatest poem any Englishman has written to English nationalism occurs in "Richard II," and there's nothing in it about power or empire. Instead, it is an ode to "this happy breed of men, this little world!" The English are, I conclude, a remarkable people, and though slightly mad, there is certainly method in that madness.'

May 12, 1937

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

June 26, 1937

U.S. AIDING BRAZIL IN ADDING TO NAVY — Supplies Her with Plans of the Mahan Class of Destroyers and Technical Help — THREE OF CRAFT WILL BE BUILT — Rio de Janeiro Agrees to Buy Construction Material Here. No Loan is Involved.

New York Times

June 27, 1937

U.S. NAVY EXPLAINS HELP GIVEN BRAZIL — Says Technical Aid in Drawing Destroyer Plans Included No Confidential Information — MAHAN TYPE NOT INVOLVED — Data Furnished Were Such as Might Relate to Hulls and Deck Layout of Ships.

New York Times

August 4, 1937

Brazil Cancels Coffee Deal with Germany. Berlin Said to Have Failed to Find Credits.

New York Times

August 8, 1937

BRAZILIAN PRAISES U.S. — Finance Minister at Rio Says 'The Americans Won My Heart.'

Navies for Hire

THE announcement, some three weeks ago, that the United States government had made a loan of \$60,000,000 to Brazil, allegedly for purposes of exchange stabilization, was mystifying to Wall Street economists. It would have been less mystifying if they had associated it with news which quickly followed, that Brazil had cancelled a deal whereby Germany was to purchase from her 100,000 bags of coffee, to be paid for in blocked marks, and to be used, not for German consumers, but for resale to central Euro-

pean countries. Now, on top of these items comes another, more extraordinary. The State Department has asked Congress quickly to authorize the lease to Brazil of six American destroyers, for the cost of the full marine insurance.

In recommending this measure, which, as far as I know, is unprecedented, Mr. Hull merely states that 'Brazil is concerned with recent tendencies in world politics and is apprehensive of the desires of some nations for raw materials . . . and is seeking to build a modest navy of her own.' He points out that 'Brazil is a vast territory with a relatively small population' and that 'if the governments of other American countries find it necessary to turn to foreign governments for assistance . . . it is preferable that such assistance should be extended by the United States.'

These items all add up to something, and what they add up to is that the State Department and the Navy are both greatly concerned about Germany's activities in Brazil. They are first of all concerned with Germany's trade policy, and secondly they are not sure that German activity will be limited to trying to capture the Brazilian market. In considering the possibilities of German colonial expansion, most Americans have always thought merely of the return of the African colonies. But it would appear that Brazil, and perhaps some other South American countries, fear that Germany may look elsewhere than to Africa. And the Monroe Doctrine, far from being dead, has been built out into a Pan-American system of collective security.

The German trade policy is in direct opposition to the reciprocal trade agreements of Cordell Hull. Under Hull's policy the signatories to trade agreements contract to give each other the benefit of any trade concessions which they may give to other countries. The policy does not demand that any one country buy as much from the United States as it sells to us, or vice versa. Hull's program is to open up all the channels of world trade in the widest possible way, based upon fair and non-discriminatory treatment.

The German policy is, first, never to buy more from a country than that country buys from Germany. Second, wherever trade balances run against her, to make payment through blocked marks held in Germany for the account of the buyer and dischargeable only through purchase of German goods. Third, heavily to subsidize exports out of government bounties so that they can undersell competitors.

Now, of course, these blocked marks really amount to an enforced loan from Germany's customers. At the present moment Brazil has got blocked in Germany marks amounting to 35,000,000 American dollars. Under this system she has to take German goods whether she wants them or not — German automobiles, although she may prefer American — in order to get her money. But Germany takes Brazilian goods, and if she doesn't use them at home sells them in the world market for gold or other goods, at arbitrary prices.

Actually, what Germany has been doing has been to disorganize the Brazilian market in the small countries of central Europe. Germany buys Brazilian coffee for goods. Then she sells this coffee for cash or other goods below the Brazilian price. So that when Brazil takes her coffee into her old markets she finds that Germany has been there with it already. It's a colossal dumping campaign in which Germany is not only dumping her own goods but other people's — against those other people's interests, using her customers' goods to destroy her customers' trade, and to disorganize anything like a free market.

The game has been practiced all over the world, from China to Canada. The result is that countries who have trade agreements with the United States and who trade with Germany discriminate against the United States in a manner that violates both the letter and spirit of their trade agreements with us.

From the American viewpoint the Brazilian case is particularly flagrant. For years the United States was the first supplier to

Brazil, followed by England and Germany. England is now in third place, and Germany is close to pushing the United States from first place. Yet the United States annually buys from Brazil about twice as much as we sell her. We are her largest customer for her most important export. We, therefore, have a club which we could use against Brazil, but Mr. Hull refuses to wield it, not only because he is interested in improving relations with our near neighbors, but because if we wield clubs against others, others will wield them against us.

We are, therefore, seeing in this Brazilian affair a real struggle between the barter principles of Doctor Schacht, made possible by rigid political control, and the liberal trade policies of Mr. Hull. And in Brazil it is apparently complicated by the fear of the Brazilians that German economic penetration, by means of Doctor Schacht's bludgeon, may be the prelude to penetration of a different and even more dangerous sort. Brazil is a sparsely populated country, filled with natural resources sorely needed by Germany, and a large and thriving German colony is there already. The German government has just appointed as ambassador to Brazil Herr Ritter, one of the most important men in the German Foreign Office. For years he has been in charge of the Department of Economics.

The offer to lease destroyers cannot, therefore, be interpreted merely as a friendly move toward a neighboring American country. It is apparently a warning to the Germans. It is also not without significance that thirty-seven governments — a list in which Italy, Germany and Japan are conspicuous for their absence — have just signified their allegiance to four principles formulated last month by Mr. Hull, as the basis of an international policy. Those principles were: Treaties must be scrupulously regarded; obligations maintained; commercial barriers shattered; and armaments reduced.

August 11, 1937

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

August 30, 1937

NAZIS ASSERT HOLD ON GERMANS ABROAD — Challenge Any Special Laws of Other Nations Hitting at National Socialism — REICH LOYALTY A RIGHT — Bohle, Speaking for Hitler at Stuttgart, Scores 'Traitors' in Foreign Lands, Denies Spying.

New York Times

August 30, 1937

25,000 HEAR CRITICS OF NAZIS ASSAILED — 'German Day' at Yaphank Camp Celebrated with Marching and Much Speechmaking — 50 BLACK SHIRTS ATTEND — German-American Bund Aims Defended by Fritz Kuhn — He Criticizes Untermyer Views.

An Open Letter to Baron von Neurath

Dear Sir:

We see from your speech in Stuttgart on Sunday that the government of which you are foreign minister intends to organize Nazi groups in this country, made up of German-Americans and professional agitators sent from the Fatherland, and getting their orders from Germany. You warn us that Germany will not tolerate that foreign governments should discriminate against such German groups within their boundaries.

In other words, you warn us that you intend to spread your propaganda on our soil, and that our government dare not interfere. Thank you for making your purposes so plain. A few of us have always held that this was your intention. You are for an open conspiracy, openly arrived at. Now we can understand each other.

Another of your spokesmen at Stuttgart, Ernest Bohler, 'leader' of the Nazi Foreign Organization, helped to clarify things for us. He said, 'Whoever lives abroad as a German business man is working not only for himself but *primarily* in the service of the German Fatherland.'

We wonder if you, a trained diplomat of long service, have forgotten, what you once must have known, that the admission of any foreigner to this country is *not* a matter of right, upon which the foreigner can insist, but of comity and hospitality.

It is assumed that a guest in one's house will not spit on the floor, break the furniture or insult other guests. Yet you are instructing German guests in our house to mock our institutions, to pervert them wherever possible, to spread hostility against organized workers and finally to divide our own house against itself. The American conception of civil liberties, our protection of free speech, alone makes the toleration of such groups possible. You know perfectly well that you would not tolerate any activities promoted by a foreign government on your own soil. On what ground, therefore, do you appeal to us for toleration? On the ground of reciprocity?

Do you remember, Mr. Minister, that in 1933, when we extended formal recognition to Soviet Russia, we did so only on condition that Russia would conduct no propaganda activities here? And when it appeared from the meeting of the Comintern in August 1935 that it *did* intend to exert an influence on citizens of this country, the United States protested to the point of threatening to break off diplomatic relations.

On the same day that your speech was reported, twenty-five thousand of your followers held a rally on Long Island. There they heard the Nazi government of Germany praised. They were allegedly American citizens of German extraction, but they uttered no word of praise for American institutions. They announced that they were mobilizing to fight the C.I.O., and save us from Bolshevism.

We are pretty good at this saving business ourselves. Once, in 1848, we saved thousands of your most valuable citizens from extermination, by opening our doors to them. We have not yet observed that anyone is fleeing to your country for refuge. Since 1933 we have given haven to some of your most distinguished people, whether they came to this country as refugees from political oppressions, or for other reasons. Germans have helped to settle this country, and have been among its most desirable citizens. No one forgets the place of his birth, even if he was driven from it. But as citizens of this state they have given unquestioned allegiance to it. And in 1917, when we were, unhappily, at war with your country, thousands of men of German blood shed it for the United States of America. But in the future we are to presume no such loyalty. For you are saying, in effect, that one drop of German blood cannot be washed out by a thousand oaths of allegiance.

Apparently it has not occurred to you, Mr. Minister, that we may not want to be saved for Naziism. In our crazy American way, we prefer order and freedom as we conceive it to what you conceive it to be. We prefer trial by jury to trial by bludgeon. We prefer free speech to a prostitute press. We prefer free universities, free science and free art to education, science and art dictated by a political party. The right to worship however, wherever and whatever we please is written in our Constitution, and we have not yet taken to framing priests and nuns or to putting pastors into concentration camps. We don't forbid Americans to join Rotary Clubs, as you recently forbade your citizens — on the ground that no German could belong to an organization having international affiliations. And we wonder how, in the face of that, you can have the effrontery to contemplate establishing an international propaganda organization on our soil. In this country a man can join the Elks, the Beavers, the Moose, the Masons, the Knights of Columbus or the C.I.O.,

provided he keeps the law. But if he acts as the agent of a foreign government, we consider him a spy.

Any time that an American wants to travel, all he has to do is pack his bag and leave. In your country he has to beg for ten dollars' worth of foreign exchange and agree to be back by Saturday night. We can spend our money where we choose and for what we choose. Your citizens must buy where they are told and what a political party permits them to buy. We can work at what we please and where we please. In your country a man who leaves his farm is regarded as a 'deserter' and can be punished. If an American wants to import a giraffe, he can do it. But you, Mr. Minister, can import only what a political party allows you to import.

We have our gangsters, Mr. Minister, but we haven't yet put them in uniforms and turned them loose on the rest of the citizenry.

And we don't regard our President as a weakling because he didn't pull Mr. Hoover out of bed in the middle of the night and blow his brains out, as Mr. Hitler did with his political opponent, Ernst Roehm.

We know that your great international propaganda cry is that you want to save the world from Communism. But we see very little difference between your system and Russian Bolshevism. In both there is a suppression of all civil and human liberties, and civil and human liberties are what this country happens to be about. And we suspect that you are not interested in saving us, but in dividing us. We observe that Japan, your ally, is saving China in a bath of Chinese blood. We saw your friend, Mussolini, save Ethiopia a little while ago. And you are both busy saving Spain now. From such saviors may we be saved!

We have our family quarrels, of course. But we think that on such occasions decency and good manners require that strangers keep out. When we need you, we'll send for you.

September 1, 1937

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

September 10, 1937

Submarines will operate at their own risk in the usual Mediterranean trade routes under a decision reached at the Nyon, Switzerland, Conference dealing with 'piracy.' Nine powers agreed that such warships would be treated as outlaws.

September 11, 1937

With sixty destroyers, forty per cent of which will be French, and with an air fleet in about the same proportions, the French and British Navy chiefs assured the Nyon Conference for the Suppression of Piracy in the Mediterranean that they can rid that sea of its pests and re-establish law and order.

Gangway for Piracy and Peace

LAST week American shipping was warned by the Navy Department of piracy in the Mediterranean. The ships carrying our commerce were urged to be cautious. At the same time, Russia in two notes bluntly accused Italy of being the owner of the pirate submarines. Italy indignantly denied the accusation. Now, the same kind of international organization is being formed to police the Mediterranean as has been so notoriously, so preposterously, ineffective in enforcing non-intervention in Spain.

During July and August alone there were twenty-five attacks on British ships in the Mediterranean. Greek and Russian ships were sunk. Turkey was aroused by a strange submarine bobbing up in the Dardanelles. A tanker flying the flag of Panama was sent to the bottom. A great many ships owned in the United States are registered in Panama and fly her flag.

All of this is going on while nowhere in the world are there two nations formally at war. Certainly the United States is at peace with the world. Yet the Navy Department sends out a warning the like of which has not been circulated since the early days of the Republic, when Commodore Decatur was sent to the coast of Africa to destroy the pirates of Tunis and Tripoli, who were preying upon American shipping.

American vessels must be left in considerable confusion as to what to do. They are advised to observe caution. What does that mean? What cautionary measures can unarmed vessels take against submarines? Shall they run at night without lights, as they did during the last war? Shall they proceed only in the wake of destroyers? And if so, whose destroyers? Or shall they seek complete safety by the simple device of staying out of the Mediterranean altogether? As long as our ships remain in the Mediterranean they run the risk of being torpedoed, and they have been advised of this by no less an authority than the Navy Department. If tomorrow pirate submarines bob up in the Atlantic, or in the Caribbean, will the same warning be made? And will the United States, in this event, permit its vessels to proceed at their own risk and without protection against pirate submarines whose ownership no nation in the world acknowledges?

By the established law of nations for centuries, piracy, which is a crime not against any particular state but against all mankind, may be punished by wiping out the pirate wherever he is encountered on the high seas. The seas are the world's highways and the property of no nation, but of humanity. Yet so hopeless is the anarchy of the world that great seagoing nations find it necessary to call a conference and involve themselves in the most delicate diplomatic negotiations over the question of destroying pirates who, by the common consent of international law for centuries, are enemies of all, and may be destroyed at sight.

More than that, it seems certain that the destroyers that have

been sent out, and may be sent out, after the submarines will be instructed by their governments to be careful not to ascertain their nationality and to remain officially ignorant of the citizenship of the men who man them and of those upon whose orders they sail. For it may turn out that these submarines are the property of a government with whom the owners of the destroyers are at peace, and in that event if the identity of the pirates were officially known, that peace might be disrupted. What kind of peace is this?

The implications of what is happening cannot be dodged. While nations talk of avoiding war, war is going on, in ways which have been out of use for generations. Given the temper of peaceful nations, aggressors can prey upon and break up the commerce of any nation or group of nations — without what is officially called war. All that the masters of the freebooters need do is to disclaim responsibility, as all nations do in the case of spies. There is not the slightest doubt that the identity of these submarines is known to every great nation in the world. The Russians have caused considerable international annoyance by stating bluntly what they believe to be the origin of the pirate ships. Indignant charges are made that the Russian is not a decent form of government. But from the standpoint of international law there is only one pertinent question: whether the Russian accusations are true.

The dilemma which is presented to American isolationists is an acute one. They advocate that America withdraw whenever, under whatever circumstances, trouble breaks out between nations. Do they now go a step farther and say that if pirates, sea-gangsters, whom no nation acknowledges, set out to hold up passers-by on the highways of the world, we shall withdraw from all those highways? Do they honestly think that such withdrawal will be in the long run in the interests of peace? Would it be in the interests of domestic peace if, when bandits appeared in a certain

section of town, all of the business men of that section were advised by the police to close their shops and move away? Do our friends of peace honestly advise that international highways, the property of all humanity, should be abandoned if bandits are abroad? Is that not an open invitation to banditry? At what point does the issue become a matter of principle? At no point? Does it concern us if submarines hold up our shipping just off Nantucket? Or if they sail into the Hudson River? Or if they infest the Panama Canal? And if it concerns us there, why does it not concern us in the Mediterranean?

And if piracy can be winked at in the seas, why not in the air?

'Nothing can bring you peace,' said Emerson, 'but the triumph of principles.' A world without law is a world at war.

September 13, 1937

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

October 5, 1937

In a speech in Chicago, President Roosevelt pledged his administration to a 'concerted effort' with other peace-loving nations to 'quarantine' aggressor nations.

America Must Choose

THE declaration of foreign policy which the President made in Chicago on Tuesday is of an importance which can hardly be overrated. The move was not, I believe, impetuous. It is well known that the President and the State Department have been deeply distressed about the world situation, and that the President himself has felt that the United States should take a stand. The timing of the speech would also indicate that the President wanted to speak at an effective moment. His words were uttered while the League was still considering means of invoking the Nine-Power Treaty, which bears the signature of the world's leading nations, including Japan, and pledges them to preserve the integrity of China. They were also spoken while Bruno Mussolini, son of the Duce, was arriving in Spain with fresh forces to participate in the Spanish civil war, and while Italy's answer to the Franco-British note on the withdrawal of all volunteers from Spain was still unanswered.

It is known that since the rebuff from Japan some days ago, the State Department has met to consider what ought to be done, and, we may take it from the President's speech, decided to play closely with the League powers. For the President speaks of 'concerted'

action — ‘a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy.’

Mr. Hull’s statement, published yesterday, makes this decision even clearer. It definitely aligns the United States with the viewpoint on Japan expressed in the report of the League’s Advisory Committee on the situation in China and the treaty obligations of Japan. The President’s speech and the Hull note leave no question that, in so far as the President and the State Department are able to commit the American people to a policy, we have been committed to collaborate in the Sino-Japanese trouble with the League, and that this collaboration suggests positive action. What the action may be is not yet indicated. The President used the word ‘quarantine.’ ‘When an epidemic of physical disease starts,’ he said, ‘the community joins in a quarantine of the patients, in order to protect the health of the community.’

The idea of ‘quarantining’ war was behind the Neutrality Act passed by the last Congress. But there is no blinking the fact that what the President suggests and what the State Department, by its subsequent action, supports is a quite different kind of quarantine. The Neutrality Act attempts to quarantine war by cutting off supplies from all nations engaged in war, regardless of who is the aggressor. What is now suggested is that the aggressors be quarantined. The Neutrality Act was based on a belief in the possibility of American isolation from all conflicts troubling the rest of the world, outside of the western hemisphere. The President’s words counsel the end of isolationism, in favor of collaboration in mutual responsibility, with the ‘ninety per cent’ of the peoples of the world who want peace.

If the country follows the leadership of the President and the State Department, the Neutrality Act is dead. Technically, the act gives the President a great deal of freedom, because it leaves it to him to determine when a state of war exists. And in-

asmuch as the new technique of warfare is to invade the soil of other nations with the full force of arms, troops and a completely mobilized state, without the severance of diplomatic relations, the President can find some description for what is going on, other than that it is a 'state of war.' Senator Key Pittman, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, presented this argument in a speech some weeks ago, in which he attempted to demonstrate that the war in China isn't a war.

But technicalities are unimportant. The President has broken with the essential philosophy back of the Neutrality Act. That philosophy was that it is none of our business what happens elsewhere in the world; that it is our whole aim to keep from being embroiled; that the way to do so is to withdraw from all areas where strife is going on, immediately to refuse arms and money to belligerents and, further, to refuse to sell any goods which the President may declare to be essential war materials, except to such nations as can come and get them and pay for them in cash.

We shall weep no tears for the demise of the Neutrality Act, and the point of view behind it. On this question our record is clear. We called the act, when it was passed, 'the greatest Pontius Pilate act in history.' We questioned its morality, and we questioned its realism.

Time and again we have asserted what is the essential premise of the President's speech: that the United States is a world power; that it is tied to the world by innumerable connections; that our prosperity, and our chance of working out a solution for our internal problems, are threatened by the convulsions which shake the rest of the world; and that a world war, or the continued spread of the present sort of international anarchy, will, whether we are drawn into it in a strictly military sense or not, disrupt our economy, and, in all probability, bring down the whole social order as it is now constituted. We have said that if the United States really makes up her mind to withdraw from the world, then

we should be logical, and do what Japan did in the generations before Perry — make a self-contained, autarchial economy, with all the regimentation that that involves, and start doing it quickly.

To continue to be tied to the world, as we are tied, involves the acceptance of responsibility for every effort to make that world the kind of place in which we can continue to exist with a degree of safety. And the acceptance of responsibility involves risk. There is no blinking that fact either. But it is a great deal better that we face the fact that we live in an extremely risky world than to lull ourselves into the false comfort that we are separated from it by three thousand miles of purifying ocean — miles which get shorter and shorter with every new invention, and miles that have no reality at all in the realm of economics, finance and ideas.

America has got to decide, not between risk and security — there is no security anywhere in the world today. We have got to decide between risks, whether it is a greater risk to sit by and watch the flood rise, on the gamble that it may never reach us — although it reaches us, visibly, already — or to be drowned while trying, with others, to build a levee. Yesterday's dikes were, in all conscience, weak enough. They were treaties, conventions, codes of behavior, diplomatic procedures. They did not prevent wars in the past. They did, however, give opportunity for delay, for negotiation. They did, time and again, stall off wars. They did prevent some of the atrocities of present-day hostilities. Even the World War never became the kind of totalitarian warfare which is now emerging on the horizon.

And we know, still, very little about how to build the kind of dikes that are needed, nor is there agreement among the engineers. What we approach is only an agreement in *will* — an agreement amongst what are still the strongest nations on earth *that war is no longer allowable*. An agreement that some means must be found to make it more costly to wage war than not to.

For it is not true that no nation wants to go to war. It is true that no nation wants to undertake a war which it is certain to lose, either because it will face an overwhelming show of force, or because it will be cut off, immediately, from necessary supplies. It is no longer true that it takes two to make a war. Or rather, it takes two to make a war, but only one to make a conquest.

October 8, 1937

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

October 9, 1937

Italy replied to London and Paris with a refusal to enter into a three-power conference on withdrawal of volunteers from Spain.

October 29, 1937

Germany declined Belgium's invitation to the Nine-Power Treaty Conference, saying it had never signed that treaty.

November 6, 1937

The Nine-Power Treaty Conference sent a conciliatory message to Japan inviting her to exchange views regarding the Chinese conflict with 'a small number of Powers to be chosen for that purpose.'

November 6, 1937

Italy joined Japan and Germany in their pact against Communism, signing it in a ceremony at Rome.

November 24, 1937

The Nine-Power Treaty Conference, in Brussels, adjourned indefinitely.

Fascism Marches On

THE German-Japanese-Italian anti-Communist Pact has been finally signed by the Italians, who up to the last moment displayed considerable hesitation. Combined with the demonstrated reality of the Berlin-Rome Axis, and the demonstrated aggression of Japan in China, it is impossible to shake off the realization that

there is now an open bloc of Fascist nations, immediately fateful for two continents, and threatening to a third. The third is South America — the western hemisphere.

This bloc is financially and economically weak, according to usual standards. But it has other assets — completely mobilized peoples, totalitarian authority and new weapons of agitation which it is ruthless and consequential in using. Whether these would prove to be assets in prolonged war against powerful nations with other sorts of organization is a question which we hope will not be tested. That they are assets in the present moment, it is unwise and sentimental to deny.

The German-Japanese-Italian Agreement, with its supplementary protocol, openly introduces into international affairs the weapon of political agitation *inside* other countries. The three nations announce that they will fight Communism anywhere in the world, whether it immediately threatens them or not. Furthermore, Communism is not defined. It is well for the democratic countries to remember that according to the avowed philosophy of Fascism, liberal democracy is merely the forerunner of Communism, is itself incipient Communism, and any wavering of democracy, or any social unrest demonstrating itself under democracy, can be interpreted as a sign of Communism.

Thus, in Spain, according to Sir Norman Angell, the Germans and Italians saw a Communist menace before there was a single Communist or even Socialist in the Spanish Cabinet. The German press has repeatedly seen a Communist movement in the Blum government in France, and has written about 'red' waves sweeping England. At any moment that they choose to describe the United States under Mr. Roosevelt (or anyone else) as 'Communist,' they can do so with quite as good argument.

Fascism is a world menace today. It is insanely optimistic to blink the fact. Three nations are out to create three world empires on the ruins of existing empires. Their intention is to use armed

force only in a showdown, and when they use it, to see that their possible opponents are otherwise engaged. Japan strikes in China when England and France are tied up by Franco, Germany and Italy in Europe and the Mediterranean. Hitler's move into the Rhineland and Mussolini's into Ethiopia offset each other, dividing opposition.

These Fascist states seek, furthermore, to find allies inside the countries at whose cost their empires are to be erected. And they find them! They find them among the rich, particularly the idle rich, the *rentier* classes, who are more afraid of their own workingmen than they are that their own nations shall lose power, prestige and possessions.

The principal agitators in North Africa, amongst the French Arabs, are *French* Fascists, who stir up the natives against the Jews, in the interests of Italy. Franco's original coup was assisted, at the very outset, by prominent Englishmen, moved by the Fascist ideology.

The Fascist International also assaults the democratic world by trade policies, under which they force countries with a glut of raw materials and a limited market to finance and equip them. Germany, in particular, is making what amounts to a capital levy upon her own clients and customers. That is what the system of Aski, or blocked marks, amounts to.

On Friday the government of Colombia announced that under the new exchange-control regulations, unrestricted purchases of foreign goods would be permitted only from Germany! This, of course, makes Mr. Hull's trade agreement policy perfectly impossible. On Thursday, the Brazilian ambassador to the United States, Mr. Aranha, made an extraordinary speech at the National Foreign Trade Convention in Cleveland. He said that Brazil is opposed to the Aski mark system of doing business and would stop that type of commerce with Germany entirely if the United States would do the same, and that Brazil is trying to 'lower the acquisitive power of Germany in Brazil.'

But that acquisitive power is enormous, and is aided by the bribery of officials, and by the agitation of the huge colony of Germans who live in Brazil.

If Franco wins in Spain, the Fascist influence in South America, which derives its culture and ideology from Spain, will be prodigious. The German trade policy and the Italo-Spanish idea-war will work hand in hand. And the United States, we predict, will find it is not so isolated from the rest of the world as it thinks it is.

Meanwhile, nothing even approaching a united front is being opposed to this united Fascist aggrandizement. At the Brussels Conference, England, France and the United States are discussing a possible settlement of the Japanese-Chinese War without the presence of, or any regard for, the greatest of all Asiatic powers, Russia — the only country which could perhaps be counted on really to take steps in China; the only country which has an army estimated at four hundred thousand in the Far East, equipped with munitions factories, barracks, air force, and materially independent of Moscow. Dispatches from China state that the inferior Japanese troops are in Shanghai, and that their best troops and munitions are mobilized facing Russia.

It is tragic that the world is so in the dark as to what the condition of Russia really is. We do know, unless the recent purge is to be completely discounted, that Fascist propaganda and penetration went a long way in Russia itself. We do not know whether to believe Mr. Duranty, who says that the purge has strengthened Stalin, or whether to believe other reporters who announce a considerable disintegration; nor do we know whether such disintegration as exists has affected the army.

Russia out of the picture certainly vastly strengthens the Fascist bloc. That is what the Fascist nations have been trying to achieve. The Franco-Soviet Pact is the only protection for the small nations of eastern Europe against a possible German ag-

gression. France is a long way from Czechoslovakia or Poland, or any of the nations of the Little Entente. For people who are genuinely anxious for peace all over the world, it is ridiculous to say that you can isolate 190,000,000 people! What the Germans, with the aid of their allies are doing, is what they accused others in the pre-1914 era of doing to them — they are completely encircling Russia.

In a world like this, one can only conclude that our domestic policy should be as cautious and realistic as possible. We must endeavor to achieve the greatest possible unity amongst ourselves. We cannot count on a revival of world trade to help us out of economic difficulties. We should cultivate amongst ourselves wisdom, co-operation, realism and courage. We shall need them all.

November 8, 1937

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

November 18, 1937

The United States State Department announced that Great Britain and the United States had agreed to negotiate an unconditional most-favored-nation reciprocal trade agreement covering the United Kingdom and this country.

The British-American Trade Agreement

IF YOU believe in private enterprise, free economy and peace, you will welcome the prospect of a reciprocal trade treaty between the British Commonwealth and the United States as the biggest news in many weeks and the most hopeful sign for world recovery in years.

It is also the first big victory for Secretary Hull, who, in our own cabinet, has fought a fairly lonely fight against regimentation and economic nationalism, and fought it with a constructive counter-weapon.

For regimentation is a result, rather than a cause. It has come about all over the world, with the contraction of world markets, and the inability of nations to find outlets for their goods, or to exchange their agricultural products or manufactured goods for essential raw materials.

There is not a chance in the world of this regimentation halting, of our moving away from one form or another of planned economy, with all the political connotations of that word, except in a freer world.

The treaty, which the State Department is fully empowered to

make, will not be concluded without many howls of protest from special interests. Tariff lobbyists have not been notable for their capacity to think as national economists, but invariably are zealous in defense of their own personal ends.

The issue will also be beclouded by those who read into it a grandiose political scheme to unite the British Commonwealth and the United States in a 'democratic front' against Fascist nations. On this ground it will be hailed by those who want such a front, and denounced by those who fear our being embroiled in entangling alliances.

That the trade agreement, if it becomes effective, will enormously aid the cause of democratic government in the world, I sincerely believe. That it is directed against anyone, or presupposes a democratic 'bloc,' is nonsense.

It represents a positive trade policy, on the part of those who believe in revived international trade, because they believe that revived international trade will further international stabilization and prosperity. It is largely the work of a man who has believed in the principles of reciprocal trade for thirty years, since before Fascism was ever thought of, and who has been working for this agreement since this Administration went into office in the spring of 1933 — at the same time that Mr. Hitler came into power.

It is, of course, the most important possible trade treaty that Mr. Hull could negotiate, because the amount of potential trade involved is so large. The United States and the United Kingdom are the world's leaders in trade. Between them they buy 28 per cent of the world's imports and sell 24 per cent of all exports.¹ Our exports to the United Kingdom in 1936 were equal to our combined sales to nine other European countries — France, Italy, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Finland

¹ These figures and those following are from Mr. Percy W. Bidwell's excellent article in the October 1937 number of *Foreign Affairs*.

and Czechoslovakia. Forty-seven million Britishers bought more American goods than the billion inhabitants of Asia. And Anglo-American trade has survived even under the most serious discouragements. Our tariff policy has dealt harshly with English goods. We buy a great many products via England, such as tin, furs, tea, rubber, etc., but the bulk of goods actually produced in England pays rates of from 30 to 45 per cent. And some of them, which compete with no important American industries whatsoever, such as cotton lace, pay 90 per cent.

Our own protectionism, expressed in the tariffs of 1922 and 1930, awakened the response of British protectionism. Even after the war, when protectionism was rampant all over the world and became one of the parents of depression and economic regimentation, the traditional British prejudice in favor of free trade fought for a time, stubbornly. But in 1931, when the British abandoned the gold standard and reduced the value of the pound, it began a protectionist policy, first as an emergency. But, as we ourselves learn, emergency measures tend to entrench themselves. The British protectionist policy was given permanence in the Ottawa Agreements, concluded in August 1932, which gave preference in England to Empire products and *vice versa*. At the Ottawa Conference two opinions contended, one that the barriers to trade should be lowered between Britain and her Dominions, and the other that tariff barriers should be erected around the Empire against all outsiders. Mr. Stanley Baldwin supported the former policy, but was defeated.

The effect of the Ottawa Agreements on our trade was serious. It is true that we still maintained about the same percentage in the British market, but certain things suffered disastrously. For example, Great Britain had purchased twenty million dollars' worth of American flour and wheat in 1931. She purchased only a little over a million dollars' worth in 1935. The purchase of hams was cut almost in half, and that of condensed milk was al-

most obliterated. Rice, other cereals, canned fish and fruit also suffered.

Tariff policies were not alone to blame. The drought played a rôle, and so did the crop restriction policies of the A.A.A. — which, incidentally, the new farm bill wishes to revive, just as we are about to make the biggest move to increase American farm exports of the whole Administration! But the British policy of Empire preference certainly hit the American wheat farmer. Canadian wheat went into Britain free; American had to pay a six-cent tariff.

The British, I understand, are willing to go much farther in making concessions now than were dreamed of several years ago. They will set aside a large part of the imperial preferences. Particularly will they give equal chances to American wheat in their market. Agricultural America will profit greatly by the proposed treaty.

Elsewhere, the problem will be to make possible substantial increases in sales of English goods in our markets, and, at the same time, to avoid injury to well-conducted American industries. This is not nearly so difficult as it seems at first sight. We now levy high duties on many goods that are not manufactured in America at all, or, if manufactured, are of a completely different quality or are produced in small quantities, involving no considerable investment of capital or employment of labor. There are high duties on fine yarns, mule-spun from Egyptian cotton, which do not compete directly with American yarns, which are ring-spun. We pay high duties on English worsteds and woollens and on cotton lace, whose quality puts them outside of American competition. We pay a prodigious duty on table damask and handkerchief linen, which aren't made here at all!

From a political viewpoint, the effects will certainly be important. The news made a great stir in Germany, for instance, and the process of negotiating the agreement will be followed there with intense interest.

The principle of the reciprocal trade agreements is certainly the antithesis of the principle of the German barter system.

The application of the reciprocal principle to the United States and the British Commonwealth means its triumph over a very large part of the world, for it will affect countries outside the Empire, but closely associated with it in trade matters, such as Argentina.

But the American reciprocity system is open to everybody, and if it demonstrates its effectiveness in the very large area where it now has a chance of being applied, it may eventually have an attractive power even to its present opponents.

In any case, it is refreshing to see liberal democracy start to put a few of its avowed principles into operation.

November 29, 1937

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

November 23, 1937

CALL TOWN MEETING TO FIGHT NAZI CAMPS —
Residents of Southbury, Conn., Prepare for Battle
Today over Bund Program.

New York Times

December 6, 1937

Sunday 'Blue Law' Snags Pro-Nazi Campers;
Southbury Constable Arrests Two of Bund — Em-
battled farmers of this town, founded twelve years
after the Revolutionary War, who have been pro-
testing for several weeks the establishment here of
the first New England pro-Nazi camp, invoked Con-
necticut's 'blue laws' today when a posse of six
constables arrested two of thirty members of the
German-American Bund engaged in clearing the
heavily wooded site of trees.

Rebellion in Connecticut

THE dilemma of Southbury, Connecticut, raises a question which is tremendously important to the position of democracy, here and everywhere else. It involves the whole issue of civil liberties, and the question of how democracy, in the modern world, can defend itself.

Without revealing the purpose for which he wished it, Wolfgang Jung, of Stamford, Connecticut, purchased, some time ago, 178 acres of land in the village of Southbury. The German-American Bund, it now develops, was the real purchaser, and the purpose is to erect on this land a German-American Bund camp. I wish to be scrupulously correct, so I do not call this a 'Nazi' camp. Nevertheless, the fact is that the present German govern-

ment has publicly, through the foreign minister and elsewhere, announced that it intends to retain the allegiance of German citizens everywhere in the world, and that it has the right to expect that all men and women of German blood, wherever they may live, and whatever their citizenship may be, will collaborate to further the interests of the German Reich.

These German camps fly the swastika flag, train their adherents in the Nazi ideology and announce that their objective is to fight the Jews and Communism.

Now, this little village of Southbury, inhabited, I have no doubt, by no Communists at all, but by self-respecting, law-abiding American citizens, doesn't want this German-American Bund camouflaged Nazi camp in its midst. These camps attract over week-ends — it has been demonstrated, in Long Island and New Jersey — hundreds and perhaps thousands of trippers. From that point of view, such a camp can be an economic asset to any near-by community. Communities, by and large, have been anxious — to take a somewhat parallel example — to get C.C.C. camps established near-by. They mean that local merchants have an extended market. But the village of Southbury is queasy about this particular outfit. It held a town meeting on November 23, and voted 122 to 41 to try to keep them out. But they cannot be kept out in any direct way. So the village is driven to passing a zoning law, which will prohibit any activity on the camp site except private housing or farming, and therewith make the camp impossible.

Thus, the village of Southbury is forced to take a roundabout way to prevent there being set up in its midst a training school for agitators of an alien ideology, and actual representatives of a foreign power. For make no mistake about it: the Nazi theology is strictly authoritarian, and the pope of this new religion lives in Berlin, and not in Washington.

And it isn't only the Nazis. There's another religion which is

recruiting zealots in this country, and it has a pope, too. His name is Stalin and his residence is Moscow, and he has no interest whatsoever in the peace and prosperity of the United States of America.

The German-American Bund, of course, flies the American flag alongside the swastika, which stands for precisely everything that the Constitution of the United States abhors; and the Communist camps and Communist meetings fly the Red flag alongside these same Stars and Stripes, and also deplore everything that America has ever stood for.

The Communist Party in the United States has not a vestige of democratic organization. The orders do not come from the workers who join it; the policy is not made in the United States; it is established by the party line, and that party line is laid down in Moscow. I once went to the trouble of mapping out in considerable detail just what that party line has been, over a period of years, and who the personnel charged to carry it out have been. Most of the original personnel have been eliminated by prison or death, and the policy has been strictly geared to the exigencies of the foreign situation of Soviet Russia, from year to year. At the moment, the party line is the defense of democracy against Fascism, and yesterday an election was held in Moscow to 'prove' Russia's democracy under the new constitution.

Elections of the same kind were held by carpetbaggers in the South in 1870. They are simon-pure hokum. The Communist Party believes now, as always, that so-called western democracy is merely a cloak for capitalism, which they are out to destroy, along with the democratic state, and they were a thousand times more sincere from 1918 to 1932 when they made that perfectly plain, and admitted that they were a conspiratorial organization out to overthrow the capitalist-democratic order by violence.

They are now out to overthrow it by seepage. They get their members into every labor organization under false pretenses.

They camouflage themselves under relief groups for Spain, and organizations against war and Fascism. They deny their own Communism, because the Lie doesn't mean any more to a Communist than it does to a Nazi. It is perfectly justifiable if it serves the Cause. And if they don't wreck the labor unions of this country, and especially the C.I.O., it will be a wonder.

The problem of democracy is how to defend itself against this kind of thing, without thereby becoming just like the thing it is fighting. If this country were like Germany or Russia, the problem would be simple. After Baron von Neurath's recent speech, we should have deported every unnaturalized German from the United States, and we should long ago have deported every unnaturalized Russian. And we should suppress these organizations by force and put their officers into prison. If you don't believe it, just try starting on German or Russian or Italian soil a League for the Defense of American Democracy.

But the very basis of American democracy is the Bill of Rights and freedom of speech, assemblage and propaganda, in times of peace.

It is a fundamental American tenet that the people have the right to change the form of government under which they live, and that individuals and organizations have the right to agitate for such a change if they believe that the form they have is no longer compatible with their happiness and welfare. One doesn't have to quote radicals in support of this. It was made brilliantly clear by none other than Alexander Hamilton.

But that right does not, it seems to me, include gracious hospitality for agitators who take their orders from foreign powers, and attempt, under these foreign orders, to influence our domestic and foreign policy. Or does it? The chief aim of Communist agitation in this country at present is not to improve the status of American workers, but to see to it that in case of a world war this country is lined up on the side of Russia. The chief aim of Nazi

agitation, carried on through its own nationals or blood-brothers, is to see that we remain rigidly isolationist — or join a possible coming war on the side of Germany.

The democratic world has absolutely no technique for handling this kind of thing. We are asked to admit that the belief in democracy includes hospitality for our would-be murderers, who do not even bother any longer to deny that their strategy is planned for them abroad. Well, does it?

I confess that I do not know the answer to this question — and it is one of the greatest questions that one can ask. Any American citizen certainly has the right to believe in socialism. And he has the right to believe in any mystic blood-and-soil theory he chooses. But the issue has, really, nothing to do, any longer, with socialism or racism. It has become a conspiracy of foreign powers, fought out on American soil. So what?

December 13, 1937

1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

January 14, 1938

In France, the cabinet of Camille Chautemps resigned; Georges Bonnet and Léon Blum in turn tried to form a new cabinet but failed.

January 18, 1938

Camille Chautemps formed a Radical Socialist cabinet.

April 6, 1938

The Chamber of Deputies, 311 to 250, granted to Premier Léon Blum dictatorial powers to deal with the financial situation.

April 8, 1938

The French Senate, 223 to 49, refused dictatorial financial power to Premier Blum; he and his cabinet quit, and a new cabinet was formed by Edouard Daladier, head of the Radical Socialists.

April 13, 1938

The French Chamber of Deputies gave the new premier, Daladier, dictatorial financial power.

May 2, 1938

Under power granted him by the Chamber of Deputies, Premier Daladier issued his first series of decrees tending toward economic recovery. All direct and indirect taxes were raised 8 per cent.

May 3, 1938

Premier Daladier opened a new credit for national defense.

August 30, 1938

The French cabinet, by decree, suspended the forty-hour week in key industries.

November 12, 1938

A five-and-a-half day week will be retained for the next three years.

The French Crisis and Its Meaning for Us

THE state of affairs in France is not encouraging, and that state of affairs is not only supremely important for Europe, but it is of peculiar interest to us. Because one sees in France, in a far more advanced stage, the operation of certain economic sophistries which have become the credo of a large part of our own population.

The experience of France would seem to demonstrate with great clarity that government spending, devaluation of the currency and the raising of wages with the idea of creating purchasing power will not of themselves create prosperity, nor even keep the production mechanism functioning. France also has a 'crisis of confidence.' The 'capital strike' of which we hear in this country has become much more acute there than here. Capital has been rushing out of France at a disastrous rate. The Popular Front government, which resembles the New Deal in a great many ways, fell because it could not put an end to this financial haemophilia, and the new government, which is politically weaker than its predecessor, has been no more successful. It has been said that 70 per cent of the working capital is being kept abroad, some of it in this country and some in London. This is perhaps an exaggeration, but that the condition is grave is not open to question.

How far exchange control may go is not predictable. Until now France has not even taken such steps as we have taken in preventing gold transfers. But formal exchange control means government control of a country's foreign business, and it might lead France in the direction of the controlled economies.

In France the same accusations are made against capital that are made here. It is unpatriotic, it is letting the country down, it is controlled by two hundred families — in contrast to our present fiction of the sixty — and if it won't work freely it must be con-

scripted. The conscription of capital, however, leads one a long step farther toward some form of Fascism.

A study of a few charts indicating what has happened to French production and costs throws more light on the situation than is created by political moralizing, particularly if one compares the course in France, where the fundamental bases of the economy have been extremely sound and healthy, with the course in Great Britain or Holland.

After the general devaluation, and the settlement of the currency and banking problems in 1936, production in most European countries showed a more or less strong upward trend. The League of Nations figures, however, which take 1929 as 100, show that through 1936 and 1937 there has been no improvement in basic production in France, despite the devaluation which occurred at the end of September 1936, and despite the enormous budget deficit and government spending, 32.1 per cent of which, in the present budget, is for armaments.

Theoretically, devaluation should help foreign trade. Nevertheless, the balance of foreign trade in France in the third quarter of 1936 was unfavorable by 673,000,000 francs, and in the second and third quarters of 1937 was unfavorable to the extent of 1,500,000,000 francs.

Wages in France have risen about 50 per cent since the Popular Front government came into power, but the cost of living has risen from 100 as of the first half of 1936 to 128, a rise out of all proportion to any reflected in the United States, Great Britain or Holland.

In Holland, for instance, it rose in the same period from 132 to 138.7, and the production index went from about the same level as in France (around 70) to 102 in the middle of last year.

The failure of France to recover is also reflected in stock prices, and in bond prices. Dutch government credit, as reflected in the yield of government bonds, radically improved in a time when

French government credit declined. French government bonds are held by the small middle classes, and their purchasing power declined from 100 to 80.

The sophistry which has ruled the French working classes ever since the Popular Front government came in is precisely the one enunciated time and again by some of our own New Deal spokesmen and labor leaders, namely, that you can increase purchasing power by raising wages, and solve unemployment by shortening hours, without at the same time increasing the per capita productivity of the works either by technological improvement or by more efficient work. This theory has been sold to the French working classes by demagogic politicians.

It is as much the economic theory of the Confédération Générale du Travail as it is of the C.I.O., and for that matter of the A.F. of L., in this country. The advent of the Blum government resulted in an enormous expansion of trade-union organization under the aegis of a friendly government, an expansion which, there as here, was overdue, for the condition of the French industrial worker really required an increase of his collective bargaining power.

But the economic sophistries pumped into the workers by their leaders, who knew better, but used the arguments for political and organizing purposes, have brought France to industrial stagnation.

The French worker is not revolutionary. He does not wish to change the form of government under which he lives. He wishes to 'save democracy.' He honestly believes that by insisting on radical wage increases, by applying the universal forty-hour week, he is helping to end unemployment, spur the economy by increased purchasing power in the hands of the masses and thus save democracy from Fascism. Labor leadership in France has misled the rank and file to the point where they cannot control it any longer.

In this they have the co-operation of the Communists. The Communist leadership is better trained theoretically than most class leadership. The Communists know perfectly well that this is all nonsense. They know that while they are advocating a work-spread system in France, Stakhanovism is introduced in Soviet Russia. The strategy of the Communists makes sense, however, because their object is to break capitalism by advocating measures which are incompatible with any form of expanding production, in the hope of inheriting the *débâcle*. Here, again, they are at one with the American Communists who pursue the same strategy for the same end and support whatever New Deal measures will play into their hands.

But the situation is serious from the viewpoint of the French defense. The French workers, who support the rearmament program and are second to no class in France in their ardor to protect France from Fascist aggression, are balking at the use of electric riveters in the nationalized munitions factories, and the result is that the rearmament program is running far behind schedule and costing far more than it should.

In France one hears precisely what one heard in Germany in the early 1930's: 'Cela ne peut pas durer' — it can't go on like this. A Frenchman who is in close touch with the situation at home told me this week, 'We would have Fascism in France already if Germany and Italy had not done it first.'

There is the same demand on the part of the middle classes for 'social and national disciplines' which is the precursor of all Fascist revolts. Fascism seems to be staved off in France only by the Frenchness of the French.

I have made the comparison with Holland because the social objectives upon whose desirability reformist governments capitalize have been achieved in Holland in a relatively grandiose fashion without crippling the entire economy of private enterprise.

Real wages, as contrasted with money wages, have gone up more radically in Holland than in France.

Both stock prices and government credit have improved; the guilder has been devalued by only 19.5 per cent as contrasted with the French devaluation of 50 per cent; and has lately improved a full point, due to its strength as against both the dollar and the franc; the Dutch favorable balance of trade has risen from 24,-000,000 to 40,000,000 guilders; superb public housing enterprises have been carried through; and the social insurances common to most countries today have been supported. The difference is not in social objectives.

The difference is that the Dutch have not accepted the idea that a nation gets rich by increasing costs without increasing efficiency, and without leaving a margin for profits, which galvanizes savings for productive investment purposes.

February 2, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

February 5, 1938

NAVY CHIEF'S TALK TO BRITISH 'SECRET' — 'Vital to Interests and Defense of U.S.,' Leahy Warns House Group.

New York Times

February 10, 1938

NEED FOR BIG NAVY DERIDED BY BEARD — 'Fear of a Fascist March' is 'Racket' to Win Backing for Roosevelt.

Our Dangerous Friends

FROM the hullabaloo of the last few days in Washington, I gather that a number of people think that the menace to our peace and security does not lie in our potential enemies but in our friends; that the danger in the world does not lie in aggression, in defiance of pledges and treaties, but in those forces that are desperately attempting to keep order and cool heads in a period of international anarchy; that in an extremely dangerous world, the one thing that America must not do is even to consider who, if the worse came to the worst, might be her allies. Try as I may I cannot see in this anything but the climax of idiocy.

Admiral Leahy, who, being a naval officer, spoke with the innocence of one who is not a politician, revealed the horrible fact that Captain Ingersoll, the chief of the Navy's War Plans Division, had actually talked with British officials in London, apparently with a view to seeing how much co-operation two extremely friendly powers could give each other if it ever became necessary. This led to such a storm that the admiral told the

House Naval Affairs Committee that the Navy has no understanding involving assistance to be given Great Britain or received from her. 'The Navy has no foreign commitments,' said the admiral. Then Mr. Hull, the Secretary of State, sent a letter to the Senate categorically denying that there were any secret understandings or gentlemen's agreements between this country and any other, relative to war or any possibility of war. This apparently eased everybody's mind, and now we are sure that we are safe. A number of commentators have told us so.

On Wednesday, Professor Charles Beard derided the idea that there was any danger of aggression in American waters, and insisted that the American Navy was intended 'for aggressive action in all parts of the world.' By 'aggressive,' he obviously meant the protection of American interests, or treaty rights, or freedom of movement, anywhere that they might be challenged.

If he didn't I am sure I don't know what he did mean. And it is a very interesting definition of aggression, and one which will enchant the hearts of any nation that decides that the time has come to go out and take by force whatever it wants in this world. According to this conception, any nation that tries to stop another nation from flagrantly breaking a treaty, or invading the territory of another, is guilty of aggression, and I suppose that China is guilty of aggression against Japan, as are all those nations that try to maintain their rights in China.

For Professor Beard's viewpoint I have considerable respect, because Professor Beard is at least consistent. He believes that America should learn to live at home, and has written many articles proving that she can. He thinks that what gets us into war is world trade, and that therefore we should abandon it, and make an autarchial or self-contained economy, on this continent. We should put a wall around ourselves and prepare, like the Japanese before Perry, to live inside it. In that case, we would have nothing to defend, except what is contained inside that wall,

and could therefore limit our defense to a police guard on all frontiers, and fleets of submarines in the Atlantic and the Pacific.

This, of course, would mean abandoning any kind of free economy. It would mean having a planned and controlled economy, in other words, a system of some sort of national socialism. Since we have within our borders most essential raw materials and could produce synthetic substitutes for those we do not have, because in a closed economy world prices play no great rôle, as Germany has demonstrated, this solution is certainly theoretically possible, provided the whole world did not gang up on us to prevent our shutting off in this fashion one of the world's richest markets and raw material sources.

Professor Beard at least goes the whole hog, and being logical and intelligent, is prepared to draw the full consequences of his conception of security.

But the gentlemen who listened to him are certainly not prepared to draw any such consequences. This country has been a trading nation since the Pilgrim Fathers landed. The same Congressmen who listened to Professor Beard believe we should have a merchant marine. The citizens of the United States have enormous commercial interests in every part of the globe, and the policy of the United States, under Secretary Hull, is to try and seek peace, not by closing up the world into a series of self-contained units, but by opening it up, in the manner recently recommended by Premier Van Zeeland of Belgium, by stimulating trade and international intercourse. Secretary Hull believes, not in starving off sections of the world, but in the world's sharing the world's riches, which are sufficient for everybody.

If we plump for the idea of world trade, then, whether we like it or not, we assume a measure of world responsibility to see that the channels of that trade are kept open. To come out for the one and deny the other is complete muddleheadedness, and muddleheadedness is extremely dangerous. If our policy is the policy of

Secretary Hull; if we are still considering ourselves a world trading nation, then whether there are secret agreements or no secret agreements, whether there are pacts or no pacts, whether there are alliances or no alliances, we will gravitate inevitably toward those countries that have the same viewpoint, the same objective and the same conception of how one can continue to exist in this world.

We will certainly not, if we are logical, add to the intellectual confusion of the world by pretending that our enemies are our friends and our friends are our enemies.

February 11, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

February 12, 1938

Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg of Austria met Chancellor Adolf Hitler of Germany at Berchtesgaden, in Bavaria, and discussed the July 1936 agreement, which recognized the independence of Austria. An understanding was sought as to an extension of that agreement.

February 15, 1938

In Austria, Chancellor Schuschnigg, following his February 12 conference with Chancellor Hitler in Bavaria, put in the Austrian cabinet five Nazi sympathizers, headed by Arthur Seyss-Inquart as Minister of the Interior and Public Security. The appointments were made after the massing of German troops along the frontier of Austria. The Nazi Party had been outlawed in Austria since June 1933.

New York Times

September 28, 1938

Prime Minister Chamberlain in a broadcast speech on September 27, 1938 (before Munich): 'I am myself a man of peace to the depths of my soul. Armed conflict between nations is a nightmare to me. But if I were convinced that any nation had made up its mind to dominate the world by fear of its force, I should feel that it must be resisted.'

Write It Down

WRITE it down. On Saturday, February 12, 1938, Germany won the world war, and dictated, in Berchtesgaden, a peace treaty to make the Treaty of Versailles look like one of the great humane documents of the ages.

Write it down. On Saturday, February 12, 1938, Naziism

started on the march across all of Europe east of the Rhine.

Write it down that the world revolution began in earnest — and perhaps the world war.

Write it down that what not even the leaders of the German army could stomach — they protested, they resigned, they lost their posts — so-called Christian and democratic civilization accepted, without risking one drop of brave blood.

Write it down that the democratic world broke its promises and its oaths, and capitulated, not before strength, but before terrible weakness, armed only with ruthlessness and audacity.

What happened?

On February 4, Hitler made a purge of his army. He ousted his chief of staff and fourteen other generals. Why? Because the army leadership refused to undertake a brazen *coup d'état* against an unarmed friendly country — their German-speaking neighbor, Austria. Why did they refuse? Because of squeamishness? Hardly. Because they thought that Britain and France would interfere? Perhaps. Or because they themselves feared the ultimate catastrophe that would be precipitated for the future by this move? I think the latter is the best guess.

A week later, Hitler, with his reorganized army, made his move. How did he make it? He called in the Chancellor of Austria, Doctor von Schuschnigg, and gave him an ultimatum. Sixty-six million people against six million people. German troops massed before Passau, on the Danube, before Kufstein and Salzburg in the Alps. Hitler's generals stood behind him as he interviewed the Austrian chancellor. Hitler taunted his victim. 'You know as well as I know that France and Britain will not move a hand to save you.' Under such circumstances there emerges what Hitler, on Sunday, will doubtless hail as a friendly reconciliation between two German-speaking peoples and the consolidation of peace in eastern Europe.

What does the Chancellor of Austria really think about Naziism?

He expressed himself hardly more than a month ago, on January 5, in the *Morning Telegraph* of London.

This is what he said:

'There is no question of ever accepting Nazi representatives in the Austrian cabinet. An absolute abyss separates Austria from Naziism. We do not like arbitrary power, we want law to rule our freedom. We reject uniformity and centralization. . . . Christendom is anchored in our very soil, and we know but one God: and that is not the State, or the Nation, or that elusive thing, Race. Our children are God's children, not to be abused by the State. We abhor terror; Austria has always been a humanitarian state. As a people, we are tolerant by predisposition. Any change now, in our *status quo*, could only be for the worse.'

And he spoke in a room where hangs the death mask of his predecessor, Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss, his own greatest friend, who was assassinated by the Nazis in 1934. And in the adjoining room, a lamp burns continually before a shrine, which belonged to Dollfuss, and is set on the spot where he fell.

In 1933, to please another despot, Mussolini, Dollfuss himself dissolved the Social Democratic Party and shot workmen in their own homes. Not to please Austria. To please Mussolini. And the little daughter of Dollfuss said to the child of a friend of mine: 'Does your father cry all the time? Mine does.'

Why does Germany want Austria? For raw materials? It has none of consequence. To add to German prosperity? It inherits a poor country with serious problems. But strategically, it is the key to the whole of central Europe. *Czechoslovakia is now surrounded. The wheat fields of Hungary and the oil fields of Rumania are now open. Not one of them will be able to stand the pressure of German domination.* One of them, and one only, might fight: Czechoslovakia. And that would mean: either another Spain or, immediately, a world war.

It is horror walking. Not that 'Germany' joins with Austria.

We are not talking of 'Germany.' We see a new Crusade, under a pagan totem, worshipping 'blood' and 'soil,' preaching the holiness of the sword, glorifying conquest, despising the Slavs, whom it conceives to be its historic 'mission' to rule; subjecting all of life to a collectivist militarized state; persecuting men and women of Jewish blood, however diluted it may be; moving now into the historic stronghold of Catholic Christianity, into an area of mixed races and mixed nationalities, which a thousand years of Austro-Hungarian Empire could only rule tolerably with tolerance. And led by a patricide. For Adolf Hitler's first hatred was not Communism, but Austria-Hungary. Read 'Mein Kampf.' And he loathed it for what? For its tolerance! He wanted eighty million Germans to rule with an iron hand an empire of eighty million 'inferiors' — Czechs, Slovaks, Magyars, Jews, Serbs, Poles and Croats.

Today, all of Europe east of the Rhine is cut off completely from the western world. The swastika banner, we are told, is the crusader's flag against Bolshevism! Madness! Only the signs of the flags divide them. Oswald Spengler wrote, in our times, 'We shall see the era of world wars and of Caesarism.' Ortega y Gasset wrote, 'We shall see the rise of barbarism.'

Both are here recorded — in the morning newspapers.

And it never needed to have happened. One strong voice of one strong power could have stopped it.

Tomorrow, one of two things can happen. Despotism can settle into horrible stagnation, through the lack of real leadership and creative brains. For the law of despotisms is that they decapitate the good, and the brave, and the wise. The Danubian Basin, into which Hitler now moves, has ruined many. And a wiser man than Hitler, Bismarck, fought his first war to break Germany loose from its headaches. Perhaps, then, all of Europe east of the Rhine will become, eventually, a no-man's land of poverty, militarism and futility. But none the less a plague spot.

More likely the other law of despotism's nature — the law of perpetual aggressiveness — will cause it to move always, farther and onward, emboldened, and strengthened, by each success.

To the point where civilization will take a last stand. For take a stand it will. Of that there is not the slightest doubt.

Too bad that it did not take it this week.

February 18, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

February 20, 1938

Chancellor Hitler in a speech in the Reichstag, in Berlin, reiterated Germany's desire to co-operate in a peaceful solution of international problems. He said no differences except as to colonies existed between Germany and Great Britain.

February 21, 1938

Anthony Eden explained to the House of Commons that he resigned as secretary because he was opposed to opening conversations with Italy until Premier Mussolini had given guarantees as to the withdrawal of Italian volunteers from Spain.

February 22, 1938

The Labor Party's motion of censure of Chamberlain's government for its foreign policy was defeated in the House of Commons by 330 to 168.

'The Last Knight of Europe'

Dim drums throbbing, in the hills half heard,
Where only on a nameless throne a crownless prince has stirred,
Where, risen from a doubtful seat and half-attainted stall,
The last Knight of Europe takes weapons from the wall. . . .

THUS once, when chivalry seemed dead in Europe, and all Christendom was capitulating to the infidel, did a 'nameless Prince' — Don John of Austria — move alone, and is celebrated in Chesterton's great ballad 'Lepanto.'

Men rose and followed that gallant prince. But who will follow the man who Monday rose and renounced his doubtful seat, as

the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, actually believing that the present and future greatness of England lies in the triumph of principle? Actually believing that the chivalrous spirit is part of the English heritage?

Does he stand alone, Anthony Eden? Alone in believing that 'Corruption never has been compulsory'?

'Agreements,' he said, 'that are worth while are never made on the basis of a threat. Nor in the past has this country been willing to negotiate in such conditions.'

Hearts leaped up as he spoke; hands instinctively applauded; history was speaking, and experience.

'Not a contribution to peace, but a surrender to blackmail.'

Lord Cranborne speaking. The undersecretary for foreign affairs moved to the side of his chief, and walked out of office with him.

But when they counted the votes, the spirit of the city merchant, the bargainer, the shopkeeper, Neville Chamberlain, was stronger.

Curious. It is the young men of England who stand by Eden. 'Make a pact with the tyrants, or it will mean war,' was the gist of Chamberlain's counsel.

Chamberlain is sixty-odd. Eden is forty. Eden was a captain with the British forces, enlisting at seventeen. He had no youth, Eden. The war took it. It took his boy brother, too, and forever. He was killed. Eden is still young enough for war service. Chamberlain is not. Eden's generation will rule England in the next two decades. Chamberlain's will die.

Yet, it is Eden who believes that freedom will die in this world for countless years unless it is willing to take a risk, and take it now.

While the last Knight spoke, Nazi mobs rushed through the streets of Vienna, crying 'Heil Hitler' and 'Down with the Jews,' and Jews rushed terrified from cafés while disarmed police watched passively.

In Prague, the last parliamentary government in central Europe trembled, but from its besieged position announced that before it capitulates it will fight, even if it knows that it will lose. 'Freedom will never belong to those who will not die for it,' said Beneš to me a year ago. But if Czechoslovakia fights? Another Spain? Then what?

In Rumania King Carol announced the revision of the constitution, the establishment of dictatorship, the suppression of freedom.

And the day before, in Berlin, Adolf Hitler dictated his peace terms to all Europe.

Germany's mission — against the 'Bolshevist democrat.' (That in Hitler's mouth means you and me.) Against the 'revolutionary terrorist,' against the 'reactionary dreamer.'

Against the British foreign minister, Mr. Eden. He names him, in scorn. To which of these categories does the graduate of Eton and Oxford, the gallant soldier, the glass of fashion and the mold of form, belong?

Hitler and Mussolini have only one thing in which they are stronger than France and Britain, under the present leadership of those countries.

They have political imagination. The political imagination to guess that what happened Monday in London would happen.

Who makes a realistic policy? The city merchant, Chamberlain? Or Eden?

Let us ask a few questions.

If the policy of Britain is to be, from now on, merely the preservation of Britain, her lines of communication to the Empire and the Empire itself, what logical objection can she bring, and with what force would she support her objection to Nazi-Fascist domination of Spain?

What objection could she make to Japanese domination of China, especially since both Hitler and Mussolini have publicly stated their support of that conquest?

What objection could Britain make to Italian-German-Japanese domination of South America?

Logically, none.

And where will such a policy bring Great Britain, ultimately, *vis-à-vis* the United States, especially in Asia and South America?

Even if we write off China, which is certainly possible, where will it bring Britain and the United States in regard to South America?

The territory east of the Rhine will be economically dominated by Germany. Nobody else will be able to trade there effectively.

In addition, through the possession of the raw materials of that area, Germany will accelerate her trade drive in the world, with her own special kind of dumping program, possible only to a totalitarian and completely controlled economy.

In the East, Japan, in control of the immense raw material resources of China, and backed by her highly rationalized industry in what amounts to a totalitarian industrial state, will also accelerate her trade drive. And, at the same time, Japan will effectively prevent others from trading in China, just as she has already done in Manchukuo.

In Africa, the trade area open to Britain will be encroached upon by the return of German colonies and the already existing Italian Empire there.

Therefore, the outlets will be diminished, and the competition in the area that is left will be increased.

One great, rich territory for trade and development will remain: South America. There the United States is already fearful of German, Italian and Japanese combination. And, as Britain finds her export markets elsewhere in the world cut down, she herself will be driven toward the western hemisphere. At the same time, she will be faced by ever-growing, ever-stronger Germany, Italy and Japan. If, therefore, the United States should come into conflict with Germany, Italy and Japan in South America, would

Britain not, in effect, be under both a military and economic compulsion to follow, not the policy of the United States in South America, but that of Italy, Germany and Japan?

And how about the conflict of ideas? Can one make a pact with totalitarian despotisms armed with enormous propaganda weapons and not become, one's self, the victim of that propaganda?

No.

So who is the realist in England?

Who sees beyond the next few months?

Eden, or Chamberlain?

February 23, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

February 27, 1938

FRENCH DEPUTIES UNITE TO SUPPORT MENACED
NATIONS — Delbos Gets an Overwhelming Vote on
His Pledge to Back Czechs and Austrians.

To Continue the Discussion

MY CRITICISMS last week of British foreign policy have called down upon me a barrage of attack, including accusations that I am anti-British. That is an odd position to find myself in, after months in which I have been attacked by the extreme isolationist group for wanting American collaboration with the West European powers, and have even been accused of wanting to risk taking this country into war to pull Britain's chestnuts out of the fire.

It is obviously necessary for me to make my position a little more plain, not because my personal opinion is of the least significance, but because it is certainly representative of that group of public opinion in America who opposed the passage of the Neutrality Act; who believe that peace in the long run is indivisible, and that a major war will be a catastrophe for this country whether we go in or stay out; who believe that there is no way of getting a free ride to peace, and that the United States, as a great and powerful nation, has neglected both her opportunity and her responsibility actively to collaborate for the maintenance of international law in the world.

It is possible that our British friends do not care what this group think, unless they happen to think along the lines of the momentary British policy. But certainly we are not isolated

from a very large part of British opinion. If the poll last week of the British Institute for Public Opinion is at all trustworthy, the 'man in the street,' over there, still believes much more strongly in the Eden policy than in that of Chamberlain.

Mr. Eden said after his resignation on February 25: 'It is with the great democracies of Europe and America that our natural affinities lie. We must stand by our conception of international order, without which there can be no lasting peace. Nor must we for a moment weaken our faith in parliamentary government and individual liberty. These are the things that count. In the sphere of international affairs it is necessary for us to be vigilant and firm. It is perfectly possible to stand firm and obtain the same results, without the risks attendant on the present [the Chamberlain] course. . . . I stand for every word I said in the Commons. *I definitely formed the opinion last week that the meaning of certain communications received from a foreign government was "now or never" and that those communications were open to no other interpretation than the one I placed on them*' (that Britain was negotiating under threat).

Viscount Astor, who, I take it, is a spokesman for the group who believe that Britain can come to terms with the dictatorships, said in New York on February 25, 'Is it a worth-while issue that the Germanic people of Austria should join the Germanic people of Germany?'

If Lord Astor will pardon me, I do not think that at this moment that is the issue at all. If it were, there would be no opposition from me. The issue is under what conditions the Germanic people of Austria join the Germanic people of Germany. If they are forced to join Germany because of a threat and because of the repudiation of pledges, then the same threat can be applied to all the Germanic peoples living anywhere in Europe, and if it can be applied to the Germanic peoples why cannot it be applied by anyone else? Why cannot Russia use the same argu-

ment, that all the Slavic peoples should join the Great Mother of all Slavs, and be rescued from German domination and from Fascism? And why should not Russia use the same technique that Hitler is using — of stirring up and revolutionizing the neighboring countries with a view to absorbing them?

Why, when Germany was still militarily weak, and when the governments of both Germany and Austria wanted to negotiate a customs union, was that request refused? Why was the independence of Austria supported by the British just as long as it cost nothing to support it? And what possible deduction can one draw now, except that the democratic countries are yielding, not because they concede a principle, but because they are afraid? And what will be the eventual result of yielding under pressure of threat, for any semblance of law and order in the world?

The union of Austria and Germany offends the consciences of civilized people, not because two Germanic peoples may unite, but because they may unite under duress and under a banner pledged to the brutal persecution of racial and political minorities; because they therewith join a closed economy organized for war or for the dictation of further 'peace' by the threat of war; because they join a despotism committed to the same program of a monopoly of trade in an area which Japan has for China, and has already made effective in Manchukuo; because they ally themselves with a policy which has openly announced its intention of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, wherever it thinks 'Communism' may be rearing its head — 'Communism' being whatever they interpret it to be. Which of these policies will Germany concede for peace?

It is said that unless the rest of the world comes to terms with the dictatorships they will make war.

But terms have already been offered to dictatorships — very generous terms indeed. The French prime minister, M. Blum, offered to make far-reaching economic agreements, to make loans,

to extend credits, to collaborate in the restoration of German colonies, provided that Germany would make terms of political and economic appeasement with France and the rest of Europe. These proposals were denounced in Germany as 'oriental trickery.'

The United States, the richest and most compact market in the world, has continually offered to Germany and the world, under this Administration, increased opportunities for trade through the lowering of tariff barriers. Far from accepting, Germany denounced her trade treaty with the United States. And this is the crux of the matter: Germany, under her present system, cannot enter into any world-trade system. 'The Four-Year Plan is not hostile to exports but is a sworn enemy of imports,' says Major General Fritz Loeb, the principal planner of military economy in Germany, and the father of the Four-Year Plan. The German economy is called by the German government 'wehrwirtschaft' — military economy — and that means that Germany and the democracies do not, and cannot, speak the same economic language; and it means that if Germany becomes stronger under this system, she, in collaboration with Japan, will have the power to demoralize the free economies of the whole world, with revolutionary implications.

It seems to me that the mistake which is popularly made is to think of present movements in Europe in terms of old-fashioned power policy, instead of recognizing that we are dealing with a power policy plus revolution. It is certainly highly significant that there is a class division in England on the issue of collaboration with the Fascist powers. It is worth wondering what will happen to the more privileged classes in any country if they refuse to take a stand for national freedom and independence, or if they are suspected of putting their class interests above national interests.

If the suspicion deepens in this country that this is what is

happening, then I reiterate the belief that I expressed long before this crisis occurred — namely, that the United States will be driven farther into a policy of isolation, and will look to itself and itself alone to protect its own interests.

I am not making a case for this. I am merely recording what seems to me to be a fact, borne out by the shift in public and Congressional opinion in the last ten days.

March 2, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

March 2, 1938

In Berlin, the German Government Emergency Court trying the Reverend Martin Niemöller, accused of sedition, found him guilty of 'misuse of the pulpit' and sentenced him to seven months' fortress imprisonment, which was more than covered by his detention since July 1, 1937, pending trial. He was set free by the Court, but was immediately reinterned by the government.

A Race of Heroes

WE ARE more and more impressed with the honesty and impartiality of German justice.

The Reverend Martin Niemöller, whose chief offense has been to believe that the spirit of Martin Luther is a Germanic spirit, was tried by a German court and found guilty last Wednesday of having discussed and criticized government measures from the pulpit and of having thus violated a decree 'for the protection of the people,' which was issued in 1933 following the Reichstag fire. The Court found him guilty and sentenced him to seven months in prison, but since he had already spent eight months in jail awaiting trial, the Court ruled that his sentence had been served.

So the next day he was arrested by the secret police and sent to concentration camp at Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg without any indictment and without any suggestion of further trial.

Since justice has already been defined in Germany as anything that aids Germany, and since Germany has become, by the decree of its rulers, the Nazi Party, and justice therefore becomes any-

thing that aids the Nazi Party, there is a certain logic in this procedure.

But the case of Martin Niemoeller raises speculations in one's mind about 'the heroic principle' which the Nazis believe should animate the Germanic race, who alone are supposed really to understand it. To our poor, confused, anachronistic minds, a man who risks his career, his freedom, the economic security of his wife and children and life itself for principles in which he believes, appears heroic, and Martin Niemoeller, who risked his life for his country on the most dangerous of the naval services — the submarine warfare — and who, during the last three years, has risked it again in the service of the religion which he professes, seems to us to be all of a piece, the *integer vitae* praised by Horace, and adored through two thousand years of western history.

In fact he awakens our admiration for Germany, and the German spirit, and suggests that that country and that spirit may really be heroic.

But we find that we have bestowed our admiration in the wrong place. The heroic German, according to the Nazis, first makes himself deaf, dumb and blind, then disconnects any intelligence he may have, gives his conscience a strong injection of morphine and begins to march, the while his voice loudly repeats the national slogans in which, in his comatose condition, he has been carefully rehearsed.

All this may be useful to the German nation, although I doubt it, but why is it called 'heroism,' or the 'incarnation of the heroic principle'? Or is every so-called 'heroic age' merely a barbaric age?

Martin Luther said, 'Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise,' meaning if you draw and quarter me, this is my belief. Nazi Lutheranism changes the meaning to be, 'Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise — because there is a pistol at my back and my

Leader has told me that everything we are doing is in the interests of our race and nation.'

Nevertheless, the Nazis are breeding, if not a race, at least a distinguished company of heroes, whose number Pastor Niemoeller has now joined. They are in the concentration camps and prisons of Germany.

March 9, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

March 9, 1938

In a broadcast from Innsbruck, Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg announced that without previous notice on Sunday, March 13, he would hold a plebiscite on the question of Austrian independence, in accordance with the Constitution of 1934, which provided that the people could vote to join Germany if they wished.

March 11, 1938

In Austria, Seyss-Inquart and a colleague, Glaise-Horstnau, asked Schuschnigg to abandon the plebiscite. This was refused. Later that day Schuschnigg agreed to abandon a plebiscite, to assure tranquillity. This offer was turned down and then, on further demand, Schuschnigg resigned, being informed that otherwise, at 6.30 P.M., German troops would enter Austria. The new chancellor, Seyss-Inquart, then called on Hitler for German troops, which had left Munich at 1 P.M. Chancellor Hitler flew from Berlin to Munich. He notified Premier Mussolini of developments and said German troops would not go beyond Brenner Pass, the chief gateway from Austria into Italy. They arrived there on March 12. Meantime Britain had protested, and Germany had answered that Britain was not within its rights in claiming the rôle of protector of Austrian independence.

March 12, 1938

In Italy, the Grand Council of the Fascist Party approved the Nazi coup in Austria and rejected a French suggestion for 'concerted, joint action' to halt Germany's drive to the east. Chancellor Hitler left Munich by auto, and crossed the Salzach River into Austria.

March 13, 1938

In Austria, President Wilhelm Miklas resigned. Chancellor Seyss-Inquart as head of the government

proclaimed the political and geographical union of Germany and Austria and decreed for Sunday, April 10, 'a free and secret plebiscite taken of the German men and women of Austria over twenty years of age dealing with reunion with the German Reich.'

March 14, 1938

Germany notified Secretary of State Hull that the nation of Austria had ceased to exist and that the Reich would take over all the diplomatic and consular establishments in this country.

March 14, 1938

Premier Mussolini of Italy sent a message to Hitler, saying, 'My attitude is determined by the friendship between the two countries consecrated by the axis.'

March 17, 1938

Soviet Russia asked for an immediate conference of powers — excluding Germany, Italy and Japan — to deal with the menace to world peace.

Kurt Schuschnigg

ON JULY 11, 1936, Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg of Austria and Chancellor Adolf Hitler of Germany reached an agreement.

The meaning of that agreement was not ambiguous. The complete sovereignty of Austria as an independent state was recognized. Germany agreed not to meddle in any way, directly or indirectly, in Austria's internal affairs. Germany recognized that Austria, furthermore, was not a many-party state, but was ruled by the constitution of the Fatherland Front, into which everyone who wished to participate in Austrian affairs was admitted. The Nazis — the former so-called national opposition — were to enter on the same terms as former Socialists.

The fact is that although the Nazi Party was declared illegal, and its uniforms and insignia forbidden, the same sort of drastic

steps that were taken against the Socialists in February 1934 were never taken against the Nazis. The reasons may have been manifold. There were many Nazi sympathizers amongst the police. But the chief reason, of course, was always the fear of Germany. Austria had agreed not to persecute National Socialists as such, but only to suppress revolutionary activities, and to insist on the 'national opposition' operating inside the Austrian front, and as Austrians. Germany had agreed to give neither direct nor indirect aid to the Austrian Nazis.

The Austrian part of the agreement was undoubtedly kept. From July 1936 to the end of the year, 18,648 persons were amnestied who had come into conflict with the law because of illegal National Socialist activity.

But the German part of the agreement was not kept.

After the July 1936 agreement, a committee of seven was set up in Austria whose task was to liquidate the illegal Nazi activities and bring the so-called national opposition into harmony with this agreement. It was headed by Captain Josef Leopold, an Austrian Nazi, and Doctor Leopold Tavs, a Sudeten German — from the German part of Czechoslovakia — who lived in Vienna. Far from appeasing the Nazis and bringing them into harmony with the agreement, these men continued their illegal activities, building up Nazi cells all over Austria and copying in this way the strategy first designed by the Communists.

Hitler was convinced that this internal activity would eventually deliver Austria into his hands without any movement from Germany at all.

But by the end of last year and the beginning of this one, he had begun to doubt this very seriously. In the first place, the Nazi movement in Austria was losing much of its financial support. Previously a number of Austrian industrialists had been helping it with money, but now they found that the trade pact which had resulted from the July 11 general agreement was not

working to their advantage. They were selling goods to Germany for which they got no money, and they began to realize that Austria's relatively sound currency and free exchange were a great advantage. Austria's economic condition was improving and a certain unity was asserting itself in the country.

Furthermore, in the last days of January 1938 representatives of Italy, Austria and Hungary met in Budapest and the Italian representatives again promised Doctor Schuschnigg that they would support Austrian independence and improve their trade relations with Austria. And Doctor Schuschnigg came back from Budapest so convinced that he had friends that he arrested Captain Leopold.

Now, he arrested Captain Leopold because he was involved in a very dark revolutionary plot. That plot was to create an incident in Austria, which would give an excuse for German interference. A crowd would have looted the German embassy and shot at the German military attaché, General Muff. The intention was to wound him, not kill him. The plot had been discussed with Heinrich Himmler, the chief of the German Secret Police. The blame, of course, was to be put either on Austrian monarchists or on Austrian Communists. Himmler wanted the plot amended. He suggested that instead of shooting to wound General Muff, they shoot to kill the German ambassador Franz von Papen, whom he cordially hated, thus accomplishing two ends — getting rid of von Papen, who had been a great intriguer in and out of all camps — and furnishing the necessary incident.

This information came to Schuschnigg through his own secret police and it also came to Herr von Papen, the prospective victim, and made him very fidgety.

Now let's skip a moment back to Germany. Before Hitler could take steps in Austria, he had to come to terms with his own army, which was headed by General von Fritsch, and with his own war minister, General Blomberg. These men and a number

of old-line Prussian officers put their faces rigidly against an Austrian invasion. They were against it for the following reasons:

First, they thought it below the honor of the German Army to shoot at sparrows with cannons. They asked Hitler why he wanted to extend his frontier by five hundred miles which might some day have to be defended, and they pointed out to him that Italy might be their enemy some day instead of their friend. And furthermore, they reminded him that for over a year an agreement had existed between the chief of staff of the German Army and General Jansa, the chief of staff of the Austrian Army, according to which if Germany became embroiled in a war in Czechoslovakia, the Austrian Army would permit it to march through Austrian territory. In return for this the German Army had guaranteed General Jansa not to exploit the use of Austria as a corridor into an excuse for occupying her, and thereby the German Army had agreed to respect Austrian sovereignty. General Fritsch was therefore asked by Hitler to break his word of honor, which he refused to do. And therefore Fritsch and at least seventeen other generals were purged out of the German Army. That occurred on February 4. Hitler now had an army amenable to his wishes. He also had a good moment in which to move.

Now let's go back to Austria. Keep the dates in mind. On February 4, the German Army was purged. On February 6, German Ambassador von Papen, fearing for his own life, went to Berchtesgaden and proposed that Hitler issue an invitation to Schuschnigg to visit him and settle everything. He returned on February 8 to Vienna and saw Schuschnigg on February 9 and issued the invitation. Schuschnigg promised to give an answer on the tenth, and consulted an important official of his own foreign office. This official immediately got in touch with the Italian ambassador in Vienna, and by noon of the tenth Mussolini knew of the invitation. Since he had not been consulted by Germany, he knew that there was something phony going on, and

immediately on the evening of the tenth wired his ambassador in London: 'Inform Chamberlain [British Prime Minister] that now or never is the time for negotiations between Italy and Britain.'

Mussolini still thought he had time to play Britain against Germany.

On the twelfth, Schuschnigg went to Berchtesgaden. He took with him his secretary, Baron von Froehlichsthal, his aide, Major Bartl, the chief of the official news bureau, Hofrat Weber, and the foreign minister, Guido Schmidt. He was also accompanied by his personal bodyguard and six detectives. He went to Berchtesgaden via Salzburg, but at Freilassing, the German border, the German authorities refused to permit the entrance of anyone except Schuschnigg, his aide and the foreign minister — an unheard-of treatment of one sovereign state by another. The others returned to Salzburg. But Hitler sent as a 'guard of honor' for Schuschnigg an S.S. captain, Spitze, whom Schuschnigg's aide recognized as an Austrian legionnaire, who had left Austria to join the Nazis — an egregious insult.

In Berchtesgaden the critical interview took place, I understand, with only Hitler, Schuschnigg, Major Bartl and Herr von Papen present. In this interview Hitler gave his ultimatum: either put the five most important cabinet positions — including Defense, Interior, Justice and Education — into the hands of pro-Nazis or be invaded. Schuschnigg demurred that he had no power to make such a promise, inasmuch as the Austrian cabinet was constituted by the President and not by himself. Hitler was adamant. The conference was followed by a luncheon at which General von Keitel, the chief of staff of the German Army, and other important officers were present. This stunned Schuschnigg, for it indicated that Hitler's threat of invasion had the backing of the armed forces.

Schuschnigg went back to Austria and carried out the exact letter of the demands, but he tried to pick Nazis for the cabinet

who still believed in an independent Austria, even if she had to be a Nazi Austria, resolving to use every peaceful and political means to save his country's sovereignty.

Therefore, on March 9, in a radio address in Innsbruck, Schuschnigg called for a plebiscite, to be held on March 13, in which the people could vote whether they wanted an independent Austria. Hitler knew that Schuschnigg would win that plebiscite, and now he had to do something, for if Schuschnigg had won, Hitler not only would lose Austria, but would get the worst slap in the face he had ever got, and the effect in Germany would be very serious.

So, on March 11, Hitler called Schuschnigg on the telephone and told him that if he did not resign in sixty minutes and call off the plebiscite, Austria would be invaded. To save his country from this fate, Schuschnigg resigned after telephone calls to London, Paris and Rome indicated that nobody was prepared to send him help. He announced his resignation on the radio to the people of Austria, ending with the words 'God Save Austria.' As he walked out of the room, he was arrested and has been imprisoned in his own residence, the Belvedere Palace, ever since.

Despite the fact that he accepted the ultimatum, Austria was invaded the next day and has been occupied by German troops ever since.

The results of what happened in Austria in March 1938 will not be apparent for some time to come. I am firmly convinced, however, that it was the most cataclysmic event of modern history, and that as a result of it, one of two things will happen: Germany will dominate the Continent of Europe, or millions of lives will be spent in another war.

[Introduction by Dorothy Thompson to 'My Austria.' This synopsis is reprinted by permission of and special arrangement with Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., authorized publishers of 'My Austria,' by Kurt Schuschnigg (copyright, 1938).]

The Sovereignty of the Lie

PERHAPS the most contemptible phase of the rape of Austria is the German Nazi government's official explanation of it. The world has been treated to a display of brute force which is entirely in harmony with the Nazi *Weltanschauung*. Exactly what has happened has been predicted for years by independent students and reporters of National Socialism. The whole program could have been charted by any one of us. And that the procedure should be bolstered by egregious lies might also have been predicted. Still, the leaders of the Third Reich evidently believe that there is no limit to the credulity of the human race. They would paraphrase Hamlet's words to read, 'There's nothing either true or false, but saying makes it so.' In the tragic moment of his downfall, Chancellor Schuschnigg must have had only one spiritual satisfaction: the satisfaction of telling the German Nazi leaders that they were liars.

I suppose that the Lie is itself a perverted tribute to some battered remnant of ethical sensibility still alive in the human race after twenty-four years of war, revolution, international betrayals and class strife. By it, some attempt is made to bring political conduct into the appearance of harmony with certain moral ideas which have, at least, engaged the admiration and lip service of people for centuries. Every *coup d'état* seeks to prove that it is 'legal.' Since there is still some small prejudice against murder, a new word is coined, and political enemies are 'liquidated.' In deference to ideals of justice which still exist as vague ideals, men and women are not thrown into prison without indictments or trials, on the mere denunciation of spies, but are 'protected' by such arrest. Every brutal snatch of power is committed in behalf of the 'national' or 'general' welfare. And every abuse of human rights that can justify itself by claiming to represent 'the majority' thinks by this claim to add sanctity to power.

The Austrian story is very simple. It is the story of two ultimatums backed up by armed force: the ultimatum of Berchtesgaden, of February 12, and the ultimatum of Berlin, of March 11. On February 12 Hitler 'persuaded' Schuschnigg to put some Nazis into his cabinet, hoping to repeat in Austria the history of the Nazi revolution in Germany, which began in the same way. But Schuschnigg had one advantage which German Democrats did not have in 1933. He himself had an authoritarian government, and he had seen the process in Germany; he had a blueprint of the technique. He kept the exact letter of his shotgun agreement with Hitler, and thus practiced a form of sabotage known to trade unionists: of following the rules and regulations so meticulously that work is stymied. And he took a leaf out of Hitler's own book, and called for a vote of confidence by plebiscite, which was to have been held Sunday.

Since Hitler's agents informed him that the plebiscite would unquestionably support Schuschnigg, Hitler offered another ultimatum: Call off the plebiscite and resign, or you will be invaded. Both threats were backed up by a mobilization of German troops on the Austrian frontier, and there was final realization in Vienna that refusal would mean armed conquest, by forces outnumbering the Austrian ten to one, even if Austria were not already divided by revolution fomented by Nazi agents.

That's the story — but not, of course, the one the Nazi press-claque tells the German people and the world. They denied, officially, that there had ever been an ultimatum! (Hitler says in his book, 'My Battle,' that people readily detect small lies, because most people tell them themselves, and catch others out when they tell them, but that the colossal lie is usually believed because the people cannot believe that such impertinence exists!) They claim to have 'rescued' Austria from chaos. Unfortunately this time, even with the best intentions, they couldn't conjure up a Communist scare. There has never been a Communist move-

ment of any proportions in Austria, and Chancellor Schuschnigg's predecessor 'liquidated' the mild and wholly legal Socialists in 1933, and they haven't peeped since. The only chaos in Austria in years has been caused by the Nazis. And the 'rescue' consists of putting the rioters in power by force of arms.

Schuschnigg's plebiscite, according to the official Nazi barkers, was 'unconstitutional,' a profoundly comic observation from a régime whose leader swore allegiance in 1933 to the Constitution of Weimar and then proceeded to abolish it. So now the Nazis are going to have a 'fair' plebiscite — by implication, 'constitutional' — and establish, nay, guarantee *calm* in Austria. There will be calm, all right, except perhaps for a little while in the Jewish quarters of the cities. But it doesn't take much terror to establish 'calm,' and concentration camps will do a great deal.

If only we could be spared the piety!

March 14, 1938

Wake Up to Live!

MY ATTITUDE toward the European situation since February 12, when the Berchtesgaden agreement was 'negotiated' between Hitler and Schuschnigg, has been subjected to a tremendous barrage of criticism and approval from both Americans and British.

That attitude, from the beginning, has been that *the conquest of Austria by the Nazis would prove to be a world event of the first order; that it would unloose forces which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to check short of war or the utter capitulation of the democracies; that Eden's attitude in the critical moment, while it was described as that of a 'dreamer' in contrast to the 'realism' of the Chamberlain-Halifax group, was actually a thousand times the more realistic and the more aware.*

From that position I see, as yet, no reason to retreat. We

have the spectacle, over the week-end, of Lord Halifax pacing his room and repeating, 'It is horrible, horrible!' This, after Viscount Astor, who belongs to the Halifax group, speaking in the United States *after* the Berchtesgaden meeting, said, 'Is it a worth-while issue whether one Germanic nation decides to join another Germanic nation?'

One can hardly imagine less realism! What, in heaven's name, did Lord Halifax expect?

Nothing that is happening in Austria today, as the lists are drawn up of thousands to be sent to concentration camps, as Jews are beaten in the streets, as men and women of the most eminent distinction are condemned to exile, imprisonment and economic ruin, as a smooth, swift, ruthless organization proceeds to totalitarianize and militarize another six million people — nothing that is happening, that Lord Halifax belatedly finds 'horrible' — is worse than what has been happening in Germany itself for five years; nothing has happened that was not planned; nothing has happened that was not predicted; nothing has happened of which the world was not given a blueprint in advance!

And Lord Astor? Could any remark have been less realistic? 'One Germanic state and another Germanic state' — words out of Hitler's official propaganda! That was not the issue. The issue was and is whether the world of western liberal culture can indefinitely tolerate the aggrandizement upon it, step by step, of a barbarian revolution!

We are not dealing with countries, nations, in the usual sense of the word. We are dealing with international revolutionary movements — with two international revolutionary movements, of which the more dangerous, at this moment, is the Fascist International. We are dealing with a world situation, amazingly comparable to the disintegration of the Roman world fifteen centuries ago.

Then, as now, the barbarians brought about the collapse of a

great, integrating culture, not because the barbarians were strong, but because the Romans had become weak and cowardly and were unwilling to defend themselves. And today the defenders of liberal culture, with enormous wealth and power at their disposal, are totally paralyzed. They do not see what is before their very eyes. Only from moment to moment they clasp their brows and moan, as Lord Halifax is reported to have done, 'I never thought they'd do it!'

Why not? They promised to do it! And this sort of promise is the only one they are pledged by their own philosophy to keep!

The Fascintern is an international pact between three nations, who have behind them the totally mobilized military and economic strength of three populous nations, to wrest from all other nations the separate or collective sovereignty over the earth, leaving only such freedom and independence for any nation as they bestow by favor.

They announce their claim to interfere in the internal affairs of any country that is threatened by 'Communism.'

That interference takes the form of supporting and fomenting a Fascist movement in any country they wish to weaken. Germany claims a continued hold on people of German nationality wherever they may live in the world, and Nazi groups are organized wherever there are Germans, no matter what their citizenship may be. They are organized in this country and, together with Italian Fascist groups, they are becoming very visible in South America.

The Fascintern also makes odd alliances with pacifists, isolationists and sponsors of American or British neutrality, in support of a 'hands-off-us' policy.

And it wins the sympathy of addleheaded conservative capitalists who think they must 'choose' between Fascism and Communism, either choice meaning the subjection of the present privileged groups, along with everybody else, to military collectivism.

In the upper social levels of all countries are people who have a tolerance, let us say, toward Naziism or Fascism; they are at least willing to accept it at the evaluation of itself which it prepares for external consumption.

And, in actual practice, the Communists themselves are its allies, for they and their 'liberal' fellow travelers do their best to prevent any sort of national consolidation in the democratic countries. While Harry Bridges, for instance, howls against the Fascists he does his best to make it impossible for American ships to sail the seas. France is paralyzed, temporarily at least, between the fear of the Doriot-de la Rocque Fascists and the utter confusions of the Popular Front alliance, which must consider the Communists.

Now, the Austrian case is an almost perfect example of the way the Fascintern works, first to demoralize a country by internal dissension, and then to conquer it.

Austria lies between two Fascist powers, and has since 1933. The first onslaught on Austrian internal solidarity was made by Mussolini in February 1934. Because of the fear of Hitler, the Austrian government looked to its next most powerful neighbor. The price of Italian support against Hitler was the liquidation of the Austrian democracy.

That meant the disaffection of practically the whole working class in Austria, the disillusionment of the very groups that might have been counted on to defend Austria against Hitler in a showdown.

But could one expect them to rally very heartily against anyone in the defense of their own assassins?

That they actually did back up Schuschnigg only shows where they thought the lesser of two evils to lie. But they were no longer even organized!

Then Hitler — with Mussolini's support, and in return for what, it is extremely pertinent to inquire — forced an Austria

already disintegrated by Mussolini to release active Nazi revolutionaries. On the basis of the disorder thus caused, he invaded and conquered the country.

Hitler will have to pay a price to Mussolini for Austria. Well, he's already paying it. This evening's papers (Tuesday) announce that German storm troops are en route to Spain to assist in dealing the death blow to the Loyalist government. Hitler's entrenchment in Austria will probably mean a German-Italian command of Spain. The Chamberlain-Halifax policy has proved its utter bankruptcy in less than a month! Mussolini does not *'have to have Great Britain.'* Hitler will give him more of other people's territory.

When Mr. Lippmann regrets that there was not a strong government in Austria resting on national union, he seems to me to disregard the technique of the Fascintern. Mussolini and Hitler collaborated together from 1934 to 1938 to make it absolutely impossible for Austria to have any such government. They tossed her from one pair of arms to the other, they disintegrated her internally, by conspiracy and agitation, and kept her under threat of invasion by one and abandonment by the other, while the League, which had guaranteed her support, was disintegrating, and no strong members of it took up her cause.

And, in the showdown, Mussolini, who had repeatedly, and up until the last minute, sworn to protect Austria against compulsory Nazification, abandoned her, no doubt to strike another bargain.

There was not the slightest reason for Mr. Schuschnigg to believe that if he had fought for Austrian independence his country would not have had a worse fate, even, than that of Spain. And what Austria was standing for was not, actually, national independence. She was attempting to avoid being Nazified. Not Germanized. They are not the same thing.

March 16, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

April 9, 1938

STUDY OF REFUGEES BEGINS WEDNESDAY — President Invites Catholics, Protestants and Jews to Back Up International Plan — 24 Countries Back Move.

March 14, 1938

An exodus of Jews from Vienna and other Austrian places was begun, but many were turned back at the frontier.

March 24, 1938

The U.S. State Department announced that it had sent an appeal to countries for a co-operative effort in financing the emigration of political refugees from Austria and Germany.

April 27, 1938

Field Marshal Hermann Goering, as Commissar for the Four-Year Plan, issued a decree ordering all Jews in Germany, including those of foreign citizenship, to report to the government by June 30 of this year all their possessions if these exceed 5000 marks.

July 8, 1938

The Refugee Conference in Evian received a statement from National Catholic Committees in the U.S., Britain, France, Belgium, Netherlands and Switzerland estimating that 'the so-called non-Aryan Catholics in the Greater Reich numbered approximately 500,000,' and declared that the refugees included 10,000 Catholics 'dependent on the charity of their fellow Catholics.'

September 1, 1938

The Italian cabinet, in Rome, proposed a decree which was signed September 12 by the king and the premier, prohibiting Jewish foreigners from establishing residence in the kingdom, Libya or the Aegean possessions.

October 11, 1938

It is officially announced in Rome that the total number of Jews in Italy, according to the special census taken in August, is 57,425

Refugees

THE appeal of the President and of Secretary of State Cordell Hull for international action to aid political refugees is not only timely, generous and imaginative, but it is extremely necessary — not for the sake of the refugees only, but for the sake of all countries that are anxious to prevent further unrest and economic and social disequilibrium.

There is a very serious refugee problem already, and the events of the last weeks, and the probable events of the immediate future, have accelerated and will augment it. The fact is that there is no international mechanism that even attempts to deal with it as a whole, and as a political rather than a humanitarian problem.

The activities of the Nansen Committee, which unless renewed next month expires at the end of the year, are limited and in no wise cover the problems of new political emigrants. The office of the high commissioner for refugees coming from Germany also expires unless renewed, and also has strictly limited authority.

It has been estimated that the application of the Nuremberg racial laws in Austria will affect nearly a million persons, or almost one-sixth of the population of that country, whose livelihoods thereby will be drastically affected. And the steps that Germany has already taken since the annexation of Austria indicate that many monarchists, Catholics and persons of other groups will at least try to find refuge elsewhere.

The outcome of the war in Spain will also create a new refugee problem, inevitably, whichever way the die is cast.

The immediate popular response to the President's appeal to all countries to join in a movement to deal with the problem indicates that in some quarters his move has been misunderstood. There is a strong fear in all the countries still open to emigration that the barriers will be let down and they will be flooded with newcomers at a time when many of their own citizens are unemployed.

Actually what prompted the President was, no doubt, a keen sense of self-preservation. The world as it is, is a place of unrest and agitation, with desperate people taking desperate measures in the attempt merely to survive, and millions of people wandering more or less aimlessly, and battering at every conceivable door, being passed from frontier to frontier, will certainly do nothing to help restore world order.

Nor can any democratic country wash its hands of the problem, if it wishes to retain its own soul. The spectacle of acute human suffering, arbitrarily imposed, incurred by thousands in defense of the very ideals which are the ones we are supposed to live by, cannot be regarded with equanimity or indifference, unless we are prepared to admit that the ideas no longer have validity. A defeatist attitude toward the refugee problem becomes a defeatist attitude toward democracy itself.

Obviously what is needed is a program and efficient organization, to deal with the whole matter diplomatically and politically, to co-ordinate and better direct the private humanitarian agencies already in the field, and to handle the whole problem on an international basis. That means an institution with sufficient prestige and authority to act as a diplomatic agency between the countries which are enforcing emigration and those countries which would accept immigrants, provided that the conditions under which they enter are such that they could become economic assets rather than liabilities.

Several experts who have had experience in dealing with the

transfer of emigrants and capital from Germany to other countries believe that it is not impossible to reach some sort of compromise with the German government, under which the capital of German and other Jews, now blocked in Germany, and still amounting to millions, may be used to finance equipment for colonization projects. This might actually be to the economic advantage of Germany, as well as to the economic advantage of the emigrants and the countries to which they may go.

Greater selectivity is also necessary. Most countries, including our own, could take with advantage certain kinds of workers. To an extent, also, the problem is one of retraining. Some of that has already been done, particularly with Jewish emigrants to Palestine.

But there are many sorts of skills for which there is actually a demand, that require a considerable intellectual training, or are better or more speedily acquired by those who have had an intellectual training.

That, of course, is one of the tragedies of the refugee problem of our era. Amongst the men and women who are now seeking new homes are some of the finest and best-trained brains; people who are genuinely creative, and whose contributions therefore to any society are far greater than the compensation they will ever receive. A man like Doctor Neumann, of Vienna, who at last account was in prison for having contributed to the Fatherland Front of Chancellor Schuschnigg, cannot, in any country, take away 'somebody else's' job, because he is *sui generis*. He is one of the half-dozen greatest oral physicians in the world.

To admit that the whole round earth has no place left for men and women of peculiar and expert skill, once the doors of their own land close behind them, is to admit that the whole round earth, as it is at present organized, is a colossal and incurable failure.

That, we are not yet prepared to admit.

Therefore, the attempt of President Roosevelt and of Secretary Hull to rally the governments of all countries to some concerted thought and action should be welcomed and assisted in every possible way.

It is an attempt to bring some order into a condition rapidly approaching chaos, and not only our sympathies but our wisdom and common sense should welcome it.

April 6, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

March 30, 1938

In Rome, Premier Mussolini told the Senate Italy could now muster eight million to nine million men, including four million to five million 'first-line fighters,' for defense, plus a powerful navy and air force.

April 16, 1938

In Rome, Britain and Italy signed a peace and harmony pact. By its terms, Italy agrees to the withdrawal of all Italian forces and war material from Spanish territory at the end of the civil war if their withdrawal has not been completed earlier in accordance with conditions to be set by the Non-Intervention Committee. Italy also disclaims territorial or political ambitions in Spain and the Spanish dependencies, and declares she seeks no privileged economic position there.

May 2, 1938

The House of Commons, 316 to 108, ratified the Anglo-Italian Treaty. Praise of Italian good faith by Prime Minister Chamberlain brought attacks from Labor and Liberal leaders. Revelation was made that Italy had agreed to cease agitation in Palestine.

The British-Italian Agreement

ONLY time will tell whether the British-Italian Agreement, signed on Saturday in Rome, will actually contribute to the pacification of Europe, and if so whether the terms will permit democratic government to live. It may temporarily do the first. That, indeed, seems very likely. War is probably farther off

than it was a few weeks ago. And that, of course, is a great deal. On the other hand, we have got to wait and see whether this agreement will serve to weaken the Rome-Berlin Axis or whether it will serve to extend it; we shall not have any real light on what is happening until we know what passes between Mussolini and Hitler in conversations soon to take place in Rome; until we see what happens to the French-Soviet Pact; until we see what terms Britain offers Germany in an attempt at conciliation there.

At first sight, England is clearly following a variation of her traditional policy of never having two potential enemies on the Continent of Europe at the same time, of treating the *fait accompli* realistically, and of attempting to divide power which, when combined, might mean the control of the Continent.

And Mussolini is also acting realistically. He has been anxious to further his own interests by challenging Britain, but he has not been anxious to further the German interests. He played with Germany in order to force the hand of England, and he has now got Germany and a militant pan-Germanism on the Brenner Pass. Therefore, unless he wishes to become a satellite of Germany rather than a partner, he needs an ally.

And now what have you got?

In the last two years Mussolini has risked starting two wars in Europe. According to his agreement, he has definitely won the Ethiopian War. He had, to be sure, won it already; the agreement is merely a recognition of an accomplished fact.

But the fact that the Ethiopians still had legal claims may have encouraged them to continue the opposition which has been going on to this day, and the fact that Mussolini has no money with which to exploit Ethiopia has made the victory a mockery except for prestige.

It remains to be seen whether the Anglo-Italian Treaty will be accompanied by a loan to Italy or with other aid in exploiting East Africa, and whether it will really make it easier for Mus-

solini to deal with the Ethiopian tribes. If all he gets is the recognition of Ethiopia, then the agreement is tantamount to killing a dead horse.

In Spain Mussolini is giving up a tremendous strategical advantage if the agreement means exactly what it says. Germany and Italy now control every naval air base in Majorca, Spanish Morocco and all over Insurgent Spain — bases which could terribly harass the British, menace the French and which have cost Mussolini thousands of lives and millions of dollars. Even if we assume that he has been paid or partly paid in Spanish raw materials, he will be no better off than when he went in, and the probability is that he will be very much in the hole.

Of course, the agreement about non-intervention remains the cruel and immoral joke that it has been from the beginning.

The Italian foreign minister 'confirms that his government adheres to the British formula for the proportional withdrawal of volunteers from Spain . . . at the time and under the conditions laid down by the Non-Intervention Committee.'

In view of past history, this simply means that Italy agrees not to withdraw from Spain until Franco has won the war, and England agrees to continue to call active assistance for Franco non-intervention.

But Mussolini agrees that the moment the war is over all Italian volunteers shall *immediately* leave, and all Italian war material be *immediately* removed, and all territorial, political and economic advantages renounced.

So we are asked to believe that Mussolini has been fighting this whole war out of purely altruistic motives; or, we can draw the conclusion that Britain also wants a Franco victory and that England and Italy together will share the spoils.

But Germany is also in Spain. So now England must try to negotiate an agreement with Hitler that he should also get out of Spain. But why should Hitler do so, except for a very hand-

some *quid pro quo*? Who is going to throw him out? England, France and Italy together? Italy has reaffirmed the Berlin-Rome Axis. If Franco wins the war, Spain will be a sovereign power and the dictator will be Franco. Suppose General Franco, who will have conquered Spain with foreign troops, finds that he cannot hold it without their continued presence? Suppose he finds it useful to have German aid to extend and enlarge a Spanish empire in Morocco?

Is there anything to prevent Franco from making arrangements with either Hitler or Mussolini? From asking Hitler to build him ports and give him arms in exchange for raw materials? At Würzburg a few months ago Hitler admitted that he was in Spain for raw materials.

Hitler is in an extremely good position. He will certainly ask a price for leaving Spain, and that price will be a free hand in central Europe. He is taking it anyhow, but of course he would much rather have it by agreement, so that he can present himself as a gentleman and a keeper of treaties.

I cannot see that the negotiation of this treaty ends the system of general blackmail which has kept Europe in an agonized uncertainty for the last few years. The net result of it is that England and France have perhaps won back their old and dubious ally in case of war. If this is as far as it goes, then the hope of doing more than postpone war is chimerical.

And my guess is that the eventual price which may have to be paid will be the abrogation of the French-Soviet Pact, in which case Germany will be infinitely stronger than she was in 1914, and in which case Germany and Russia will come together in one way or another sooner or later. And then we will have the real menace to the democratic world.

I continue to be skeptical and not too over-optimistic regarding the effect of this treaty in the long run. We shall have to wait and see what concessions, if any, France, England and

Italy acting together can wring out of Germany in central Europe.

Hitler does not plan a 'conquest' of central Europe. He plans penetration and hegemony under the threat of force. And it is very hard to deal with this kind of expansion by agreements, unless France can induce Britain and Italy to back her up in supporting her old allies in central Europe.

The agreement to suspend propaganda against each other will be interesting to watch. This may be interpreted in Great Britain to mean the suspension of all anti-Fascist opinion. It is amazing what censorship already exists in England against any utterances likely to hurt the feelings of the Fascists, and, of course, in protecting German and Italian Fascists against attacks in the British press the British government also protects English Fascists.

April 20, 1938

Un Bel Homme Sans Merci

ANOTHER aide and confidential secretary of Franz von Papen is dead. Baron von Ketteler was found a corpse in the Vienna woods, once celebrated by the music of Johann Strauss, and now a dangerous place to be.

The list begins to be impressive. It gives Herr von Papen a unique fame, as a sort of political typhoid Mary. He is truly l'Homme Fatal. Associate with him in any close political relationship, and one will surely die. The dates cover a period of more than twenty years, and span the globe: 1916: the United States of America; 1917: Syria; 1932 and 1934: Berlin; 1938: Vienna.

Herr von Papen is impressive from another viewpoint. Those who associate with him die. But Herr von Papen lives. He is the greatest known survivor. Not only does he live — but with

each catastrophe he falls upstairs. He has a charmed career. Somebody else always pays the bills for his intrigues.

John W. Wheeler-Bennett, one of the closest British students of German affairs, described Franz von Papen as having 'the volatility of a bird, the sublime confidence of the amateur and the ineffable valor of ignorance.' It could not be better said.

The gentleman rider of the fashionable Barons' Club, the Herrenklub, who even on horseback rushes his fences, the ingratiating 'white-headed boy' of the late President von Hindenburg, the Francophile husband of a rich lady of French extraction who inherited ceramic interests in the Saar, the *viveur*, the perennially gay, the ladies' man, is the great dilettante of war and revolution.

He forgets his briefcases — and the wrong people find them. And men die. Because he forgot a briefcase, men were shot and imprisoned in 1916, and half a generation later, because he forgets a briefcase, a political event of the first magnitude occurs, and a revolution. He collaborates to introduce a Trojan Horse into the German government, serenely confident that nothing serious will come of it. What came of it was the Nazi government. His collaborators under his leadership intrigue — and on June 30, 1934, they are shot in a purge. One of them because he wrote a speech — an eloquent, well-phrased speech — delivered by Franz von Papen.

But Franz von Papen lives. It is all very sad, of course — but the result is that he is ambassador to Vienna.

Again there is a piece of work to be done. Not by von Papen. By an aide. And so, last week, they found another body in the Vienna woods.

I have no doubt that von Papen will lay a wreath on his grave: 'To My Loyal Friend.' Von Papen is a gentleman. He observes the niceties. Scrupulously.

In 1916 he was German military attaché in Washington. Then

in his thirties. Rich, elegant, vain and amusing. Life was amusing — even if there was a war going on. He himself had an amusing rôle to play in that war; really it was like a detective story. Exciting. He was popular. Some people thought his eyes were a little too close together, giving his longish face an ape-like expression, but he was obviously a gentleman. His job was to organize sabotage against America's shipments of arms to Europe. For, unfortunately, and since Britain ruled the waves, those arms were reaching the Allies. It might even be better to stop them at the source — by blowing up the munitions works. The Americans, anyhow, are so naïve. 'I always say to these idiotic Yankees that they should shut their mouths, and better still be full of admiration for all our heroism,' he writes to his wife in 1915 — in an open letter. Which the idiotic Yankees, of course, got and read.

The British are idiotic, too. Dull fellows. Really, nothing to fear from them. Von Papen pays off his saboteurs and spies. Methodically. He writes the checks, and enters the names and dates carefully on the stubs. The idiotic Americans expel him in 1916, along with his collaborator, Captain Boy-Ed. They don't arrest him. After all, he has diplomatic immunity. But he takes along the checkbooks, and in an open briefcase. The liner on which he travels is searched at Falmouth by the British, the stubs discovered. And back in Washington, von Papen has left the most critical documents, undestroyed, in the hands of his young and harmless secretary. Odd, some of the people who languished in prison felt vicious about it and wrote accusing books, after the war. But Herr von Papen was decorated — and promoted.

So the German Foreign Office sent him to Syria, where he left some more information lying around for idiotic Englishmen to pick up. But he suffered for his country. Desert tents are uncomfortable.

He lived to become chancellor of Germany in the early

thirties and to perform another feat of a fast horseman and *hasardeur*. He kicked out the Prussian Republican government.

Von Papen as chancellor had, of course, one notable foreign success. He had cashed in on his predecessor's brilliant diplomacy. Doctor Bruening had got the League powers to the point where they were willing to abrogate reparations. Von Papen, who with Hindenburg had intrigued to throw out 'the greatest German chancellor since Bismarck,' signed the papers at Lausanne, and smilingly took the credit.

Just the same, his government was strangely unpopular at home. In September 1932 things had reached such a pass that it was impossible to hold his government or form another coalition. The Reichstag met, with the extremists — Communists and Nazis — stronger than ever. The party leaders had, however, agreed to adjourn the Reichstag for a week and see if a coalition couldn't be formed. The Communists and the Nazis had planned, however, to move a vote of non-confidence, and thus force another election, in which they hoped to build up more power. Von Papen wasn't worried. He had something up his sleeve — an order from the President dissolving the Reichstag. Unfortunately it wasn't up his sleeve but in his briefcase.

The critical moment came. He rose to administer the *coup de grâce* to Nazi and Communist hopes. But — he had forgotten the briefcase! When it arrived, and he laid the President's document on the speaker's table, the President, Mr. Goering, ignored it. Anticlimax. The Reichstag was dissolved, under conditions that necessitated new elections and more warfare in the streets!

So, eventually, he intrigued to get Hitler into the cabinet — why not? A few aristocrats, like himself, could easily control an upstart Bohemian house-painter, *n'est-ce pas?* And he would always have an inside track to the President. The old von Hindenburg, senile now, adored von Papen! He was a man of

his own class. Besides, he always made him laugh. Everybody else was so gloomy — but Franz, never.

Hitler became chancellor with a few party members in the cabinet. That was all he needed. After that the Reichstag fire, new elections, revolution!

The revolution wasn't made by gentlemen, and von Papen didn't care much for it. Still, there were cards to play. 'Revolutionists destroy each other.' Probably von Papen remembered the French Revolution, picturing himself as another Talleyrand. But his Talleyrand was a moving-picture version.

Hitler was intrigued against, with the army, of course, and the revolutionary Brown Shirts under Captain Roehm. The revolutionary pervert led the attack from the Left; von Papen assisted from the Right, in an elegant speech on German conservatism, delivered at Marburg. Its author was another aide — Edgar Jung, a Catholic philosopher. On June 30, 1934, Hitler rounded up all the discontents in one vast blood bath. Jung was shot; so was Bose, von Papen's secretary. But not von Papen. The old President was still alive, and he adored von Papen.

Von Papen went to Bose's funeral and laid a wreath on his grave: 'To the most loyal of Germans.'

Then he went next day to the races 'to show my friends that I am still alive.'

And after that he became ambassador to Vienna.

Which brings us down to the present. And raises the question: Why did Chancellor Schuschnigg go to Berchtesgaden, and why is von Papen's secretary, Baron von Ketteler, dead in the Vienna woods?

Herr von Papen, of course, was supposed to bring an olive branch to the Austrians, but Herr von Papen's olive branches usually conceal weapons.

Chancellor Schuschnigg had discovered a Nazi plot, and a Nazi plot was contrary to the agreement he had reached with Mr. Hitler on July 11, 1937.

And of course, he took the matter up with Herr von Papen. And Herr von Papen had a charming suggestion. Why didn't Schuschnigg go to Hitler personally, with all the documentary evidence, and tell him the story? Hitler, of course, didn't know anything about the plot. Hitler would be shocked if he heard about it. Hitler would see that the plotters were dealt with.

So Schuschnigg went to Berchtesgaden, not as to Canossa, but to raise Ned. This at least is a well-supported inside story. Nobody was present in Berchtesgaden except Hitler, Schuschnigg, the Austrian foreign minister, Guido Schmidt (now safe, I hear, in the arms of General Goering) and — Franz von Papen. Schuschnigg left his chief of the information service, Hofrat Weber, his adjutant, Lieutenant Colonel Bartelt, and his secretary, Baron Froehlichsthal, in Salzburg.

Thus he was betrayed into receiving an ultimatum. The plot existed and would be carried out — unless Chancellor Schuschnigg yielded.

I wonder where Herr von Papen will go next! The newspapers hint darkly that he has 'disappeared.' There is some idea — no doubt in some quarters a wish-dream — that this time he has gone the way of his own secretaries.

I don't believe it. All in discreet time he will turn up again, with a mourning band on his arm. I have no doubt he will eventually be buried in state, with all his decorations.

His tomb should be rococo. The inscription by Beaumarchais.

April 25, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

April 29, 1938

Britain and France ended their conference in London, where they agreed to 'continue to develop their policy of consultation and collaboration for defense not only of their common interests but also those ideals of national and international life which have united their two countries.'

New York Times

April 30, 1938

LONDON AND PARIS TO SEEK TO AVERT ATTACK ON CZECHS — Diplomatic Steps to be Taken in Berlin, Prague, Warsaw, to Curb Any German Move — FULL AGREEMENT REACHED — Halifax Tells Nazi and Italian Envoys That Alliance is Aimed at No Country.

New York Times

April 30, 1938

DALADIER IN PARIS HAILS LONDON PACT — Military Alliance Binds Two Nations to Fight Together but Evades the Grounds — FRENCH LEFT IS CRITICAL — Regards Price of Understanding as Abandonment of Ideal of Collective Security.

Foreign Policy and Domestic Peace

NAPOLEON said, 'Politics is destiny,' and it becomes increasingly clear that the foreign policies of governments are coming to determine the way they live their lives and settle their internal affairs.

The most conspicuous example of this is perhaps Great Britain. The British foreign policy has been determined by the fear of war — and particularly by the fear of modern aerial warfare, which

for the first time makes the British Isles vulnerable to attack, no matter how much Britain may control the seas — by long-delayed rearmament, and reorganization of the army.

This fear of war has led Britain to abandon point by point every stand that might bring her into conflict with the more aggressive nations.

It resulted in the Chamberlain-Halifax policy of steering central Europe as easily as possible into Germany's maw; to carry on consistently the selling-out process with other people's property rather than colonies; to give France the strongest military alliance that has ever existed while restraining her from backing any of her allies; thus to urge Germany against Russia in the east and Italy in the west; and, finally, by the policy of divide and rule, to get by for the time being.

Leaving out of account the eventual results of this policy in the foreign field, it is having a decisive effect on British institutions at home. The people of England do not like this policy, and they realize that they pay for it by the suppression of their own institutions.

I doubt if ever in times of so-called peace the British press has been so shackled, so paralyzed.

The censorship exerted by the British government is of a different type from that exercised by the dictatorships, but it is extremely effective.

The British newspapers and publications are asked voluntarily to withhold articles that might be offensive to the Fascist powers.

Since to be on hostile terms with the Foreign Office and with other branches of the government is disadvantageous to any publication, and since the government and the powerful financial City work closely together and have ways of bringing pressure on advertisers, the newspapers may fume internally, but to a great extent they switch themselves into line.

This affects not only editorials, but news reports. To take an

example, the factual story of the conquest of Austria was available to British newspapers, but it has never been told in complete detail.

A distinguished British novelist, contributions from whose pen are usually welcome in the British press, and who happened to be in Austria at the time of the conquest, found it impossible to place in English newspapers either her own story of what she saw or her plea for Austrian refugees.

One of the most brilliant writers in England, who happens to be a special and expert student of affairs in southeastern Europe, finds it almost impossible to get the viewpoint or even the facts about the southeastern countries set forth in any British publication.

Now, freedom of expression, opinion and news is a basic English institution, as it is in this country, and on it rests as firmly as on any single pillar the strength of the parliamentary system. And despite this voluntary censorship, people do get news. They get it in all countries, even in the dictatorships. But the effect on the people of believing that their government shuts them off from facts is alarming. The public begins to believe the worst of the parliamentary system, and the result of this is the radicalization of people who have all their lives believed in the democratic process.

The same is true in France, where it is the weakness of the government's foreign policy, rather than insoluble domestic issues, that has split the people into camps and led to a terrific moral and political disarray internally.

Now, Britain and France together, in an effort to conciliate Czechoslovakia and Germany, are demanding that the Czech government make every possible effort to placate the German minority — this in spite of the immediate illustration of Austria, where the attempts of Schuschnigg to placate the Austrian Nazis under the terms of the Berchtesgaden agreement of July 11, 1936, led, in less than two years, to German conquest.

The Czech government, which, with the complete abandonment of collective security and the sanctity of treaties, is on a fearful spot, dares not suppress the Nazi propaganda in the German areas against the advice of the powerful western countries. And the Nazi leader Konrad Henlein is doing precisely what the Austrian Nazis did — staging one big Nazi festival and demonstration after another, receiving warm congratulatory telegrams from Doctor Josef Goebbels, and flaunting the swastika in front of the Czech population. while the police, urged by Prague to be careful, show considerable tolerance.

Now, this is the most dangerous possible situation, because this happens in a state in which the majority are not Nazis and not Germans, and the papers over the week-end report that the Czech population is becoming outraged and excited and is likely to take matters into its own hands.

And the result of open clashes between the Czech and German populations would certainly not contribute to the conciliation and peace for which the Chamberlain government still hopes.

We certainly have a most fantastic situation in the world when certain powers are prepared to reject categorically and suppress ruthlessly any attempt to interfere in their internal and domestic affairs, while at the same time they make it a policy to interfere in the internal and domestic affairs of other nations.

The world simply cannot go on like this. For the operation of this policy will lead to civil strife *inside* all countries, whether it leads to armed conflicts between nations or not.

In a desperate attempt to avoid the risk of an international war, the democratic countries are taking upon themselves the far greater risk of internal revolution.

May 9, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

May 13, 1938

HENLEIN ON SURPRISE LONDON VISIT — British
Hope of Czech Peace Rises.

May 21, 1938

Czechoslovakia called up army reserves and put
400,000 troops near the German border. Agitation
in the Sudeten districts was quieted by the display.

May 23, 1938

In Prague, Konrad Henlein, the Sudeten leader in
Czechoslovakia, had a conference with Premier
Hodza on possible compromise of differences.

May 30, 1938

Czechoslovakia decreed military or defense service for
her entire population between the ages of six and
sixty.

Henlein in London

I

ON THE twentieth of this month the Czechoslovak prime minister, M. Hodza, intends to present to the Czech Parliament legislation through which he hopes to meet the complaints of the German-speaking part of the population of Czechoslovakia and thus pave the way for appeasement.

Meanwhile, the leader of the radically pro-Nazi German minority, Konrad Henlein, has gone to London with the object of

getting Great Britain to bring pressure to bear on Czechoslovakia to go much farther than the Czech government is prepared to do.

He has not been altogether unsuccessful. The British government has made representations in Prague urging the Czechs to make the most extreme concessions 'compatible with the integrity of Czechoslovakia.'

There is a veiled and negative threat in the representations. They seem to imply that if Czechoslovakia does not make such concessions as will satisfy Mr. Henlein, Great Britain washes her hands of the results.

The effect of the British attitude — I mean the attitude of the Chamberlain government — is shockingly to confuse world public opinion.

For what Mr. Henlein is asking the Czechoslovak state to do is graciously to commit suicide in the interests of European peace.

And the policy of the Chamberlain government is apparently to make the Czech government responsible for the results if it stubbornly refuses to do so.

It is significant that international relations are conducted today as though all of Europe were already ruled by dictators.

Czechoslovakia, however, is a liberal, parliamentary state.

The Czechs are a politically free people. The legislation that M. Hodza will propose must be submitted to a parliament of three hundred members. In that parliament the Germans, being 22 per cent of the population, have 23 per cent of the seats. Mr. Henlein does not control even all of the German votes. He has forty-four seats out of a total of seventy-two German members. German Centrists (Catholics) and Agrarians joined with Henlein in the general festival of panic that followed the annexation of Austria, but already they are backing away.

Mr. Henlein's party, like all Nazi parties, conducts a systematic campaign of veiled terror against the German population in Czechoslovakia in an effort to force them all into his camp.

But he still has not got even all the German-speaking Czech citizens with him.

Now, Mr. Henlein, whose party represents 13.5 per cent of the citizens of Czechoslovakia, is telling the rest of the country what it must do — unless. And Mr. Chamberlain's government, negatively at least, aids and abets Mr. Henlein, ostensibly under the guise of being kind to minorities.

Otherwise Mr. Henlein would have been received with obvious coldness in England and advised to go back to his country, accept any reasonable concessions, and to remember that Czechoslovakia is a state created with the collaboration of Great Britain, a state which has been conspicuously faithful to every international and political pledge which it has ever given; a state which is financially sound and politically stable except for the machinations of Mr. Henlein; that, furthermore, this state enjoys an alliance of mutual aid in case of attack with France, who is Great Britain's closest ally, and that it is not the business of Great Britain to interfere in the internal affairs of a friendly country which has demonstrated its level-headedness, reasonability and competence to take care of itself unless a deliberate conspiracy is made to strangle it economically and threaten it by invasion.

If the British people long continue to think that any other attitude of its government is statesmanship I shall be very much surprised.

Lying in the Danubian Basin, where nationalities are inextricably mixed, Czechoslovakia is a country of mixed nationalities, with Czechs and North Slavs, including the Slovaks, overwhelmingly in the majority, with a large population (22 per cent) of German-speaking residents of former Bohemia, and with minor groups of Magyars and Ruthenians (Little Russians).

The discontent of the Germans has been constant from the beginning, partially justified and not unnatural.

Before the war, which divided the Austro-Hungarian Empire,

the Germans considered themselves the 'superior stock' of this area, and looked down on the Czechs and all other Slavs.

The Czechs, very naturally, resented this, and when the new state was formed President Masaryk not only had to deal with German discontent but with Czech chauvinism, which wanted to take revenge.

The late president, perhaps the most enlightened statesman of post-war Europe, attempted to deal with both, and he actually crushed the Kramarz Party, which represented extreme Czech nationalism, because he knew that the new state would have to harmonize its various nationalities on a liberal basis.

A minority in no country enjoys an enviable position. But I will say categorically that the German minority in Czechoslovakia was from the beginning treated more generously than that in any other central European country, and far more generously than in Italy. The frontiers of Czechoslovakia were drawn to include the German-speaking Bohemians for the same reason that the frontiers of Italy were drawn to include South Tyroleans, also Germans: it was the historic border, and the mountains afforded a natural frontier and a natural defense. The Germans living in this area were never part of the German Reich, but always belonged to Bohemia, which, before the war, was included in Austria-Hungary, and then contained also Slavs and Germans.

These Germans have complete cultural freedom. Their complaints, until the rise of Hitlerism, were several: they claimed that they were discriminated against in administrative positions and in private industry; they claimed that government funds went more copiously to the Czech areas than to the German; and they complained of their economic distress.

Some of these complaints had a basis, due to the chauvinism of the newly victorious Czechs.

Others had a different origin from the one claimed. The German-speaking parts of Czechoslovakia suffered three serious

economic catastrophes. First, these communities had heavily subscribed to the Austrian war loans, which after the war were valueless. They were honored to 75 per cent, be it said, by the new Czech state.

Secondly, these German-speaking people, bankers and industrialists, did not believe that the post-war system would last, and speculated heavily on the German mark. They were wiped out in the 1923 German inflation. Rehabilitated with Czech money, Czech influence grew in certain German enterprises, to the disappointment of the Germans, who had made a bad bet.

Finally, in the great depression, which hit Czechoslovakia relatively late, in 1933, these areas, being chiefly given over to manufacturing for export, were especially hit. And in this, the economic policy of Hitler's Reich, ironically enough, played a great rôle. For Germany established her autarchic trade system, and under it Czechoslovak manufacturers, German and otherwise, who had sent 37 per cent of their exports to Germany, found their trade with the Reich reduced to around 10 per cent.

Czechoslovakia, with a sound currency, sought free international markets, but in the depression these were, of course, limited.

Now the Czechoslovak government proposes to offer the most far-going concessions to meet all just complaints and bring the German-speaking minority into a position of complete equality. There is already a law against any attempt culturally to denationalize any person in the Czechoslovak state. The government will propose a law guaranteeing German-speaking citizens that proportion of the administrative offices that they represent in the population.

That does not mean that they may not hold more than that proportion. But by law they will not be permitted to hold less.

And with regard to their economic complaints, the Czechoslovak government promises to undertake every possible financial

expenditure on public works in these districts with a view to rehabilitating them.

But this is not what Mr. Henlein wants. What Mr. Henlein wants would mean the end of the democratic constitution and, eventually, the certain disruption of the Czechoslovak state.

That state is completely solvent. It has never had an unbalanced budget. It has never defaulted on a pledge, financial or political. It has now, while there is still a depression, only 2 per cent of unemployment. Its scale of wages is higher, according to the figures of the International Labor Office, than that of France, Germany, Belgium or Italy — lower than the English, Dutch and Scandinavian. It has the finest army of any of the smaller countries — 180,000 standing, 1,200,000 trained reserves and excellent mechanization. It is faulty only in bombing planes and other weapons of offense, because it was organized wholly as a defensive force. And that army and that force for twenty years have stood ready to collaborate to defend law in Europe.

It is the last socially democratic, liberal, parliamentary state between the Rhine and Russia. It is a bourgeois republic, with only thirty Communists in a parliament of three hundred. It is a state of remarkable democratic discipline. It is a state that, amidst great problems and vicissitudes, has shown amazing reasonableness and has preserved constitutional freedom for its populations.

And if Mr. Chamberlain's government actually collaborates to sell out this state, the repercussions all over the world, and eventually in England, too, will be tremendous. That is absolutely certain. Henlein's program means just that.

May 16, 1938

II

What Konrad Henlein is asking the so-called democratic European powers to help him do is to change the Czechoslovak foreign policy and totally to reorganize the Czechoslovak state, on a basis incompatible with its present democratic constitution. It is also speculated whether, in concession to the demands of the German-speaking minority in Czechoslovakia, the border might not be pushed back, to permit the so-called Sudeten areas, largely inhabited by Germans, to be incorporated into Nazi Germany.

Now, the first thing to get perfectly clear in our minds is that none of these demands is politically possible. In order to carry them out, either President Eduard Beneš or Prime Minister Hodza would have to make himself dictator and accomplish the changes by decree.

Czechoslovakia is governed by a parliament. It would take a three-fifths vote to change the constitution, and even with a parliament in which the Germans are fully represented, as they are, it is unlikely that so large a majority could be found, by any sort of coalition, that it would vote to wreck the constitution or abandon the only defensible frontier for the sake of a minority representing racially less than a fourth and politically less than a seventh of the population.

Konrad Henlein, acting in behalf of Mr. Hitler, wants Czechoslovakia to abandon at least half of her only defensive alliance — the three-cornered Russian-Czech-French Pact, which incidentally only comes into play if Czechoslovakia is a victim of unprovoked aggression. Is it conceivable that under present circumstances any Czech government would freely abandon that alliance? Especially when she knows that France is on the apron strings of England? When she is not in the least afraid of a Communist menace — there are more Nazis in the Parliament than Com-

munists — but when she does have a very decent respect for the Russian army — shared, incidentally, by Germany? When she is perfectly aware that, after all, it was not Russia who annexed Austria! Nor, as Paul Reynaud remarked recently in Paris, is it Stalin who is threatening Prague.

Secondly, Mr. Henlein wants to organize the German-speaking population of Czechoslovakia into a Nazi state, inside the boundaries of the country. That Nazi state would act as an agent of Germany inside Czechoslovakia.

Is it conceivable that any country on earth would thus plan to introduce a Trojan Horse into the community?

Since Czechoslovakia is a politically free country, the Nazis can agitate and organize, and it is even extremely difficult for the state to protect itself against the terrorism which they exercise amongst the German population. It takes such forms as organizing business boycotts against Germans who refuse to become Nazis.

Henlein knows that he cannot capture the Czechoslovak Republic as a whole for Nazism, so he wants to make a Nazi state out of the German-speaking elements, and demand cantonization and autonomy.

But no conceivable sort of cantonized state can exist under one roof with totally different and hostile social and political philosophies.

Henlein wants to make it illegal for any Czech to sell property to a German, or for any German to sell property to a Czech. He wants to set up a sort of German ghetto, but an aggressive one, to create an eternal barrier to any possible fluctuations. Already his movement is propagandizing against intermarriage between Germans and Slavs — incidentally against the very sort of racial absorption that created modern Prussia! He wants to be able to drive Slavs and Jews out of the German sections. But the same constitution that protects Mr. Henlein in his rights to preach Nazism protects democrats and Jews and Slovaks and Rutheni-

ans and socialists and agrarians, and citizens of all races and all parties, against Mr. Henlein!

Representing a minority, he wishes to set up a system where, in a segregated section of a democratic state, certain non-German and non-Nazi minorities can freely be persecuted!

And, at the same time, he wants his followers admitted to over-all administrative positions and to the army! The whole proposal is utterly preposterous. It is an invitation to civil war!

Now, since Mr. Henlein's visit to London, statements are coming from there that these demands represent his 'maximum' and not his 'minimum,' thus reversing the attitude that he took in the speech at Carlsbad on April 24. The acceptance of such a statement as meaning anything at all is a crucial demonstration of unrealism, self-deceit and ignorance. And the ignorance is understandable, with the example of Austria still completely fresh. There, also, the penetration which ended with annexation started with achievement of a 'minimum' — as represented by the Berchtesgaden agreement of July 1936. But that 'minimum' was used as a wedge with which to split the state wide open, and to destroy it within less than two years. Hitler conquered the German Reich by the same technique — the establishment of a 'minimum' that gave him an inside track. The whole procedure is now stereotyped.

The Henlein movement in its virulence has arisen from the slogan of the Nazis, to unite all Germans within the Reich.

This plan of Henlein's would unite all Germans as Reich agents inside another country. Complete detachment and union with Germany would be preferable. But that is also politically and ethnically impossible.

There is exactly as good a reason to give the South Tyrol, now part of Italy, to Germany as there is to give the Sudeten lands to Germany. Neither of them, of course, ever belonged to the Reich. Both of them were parts of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire,

both of them contain German-speaking populations and both of them lie behind a natural frontier of mountains. That is why Mussolini will defend the Brenner frontier, and why the Czechoslovaks must defend the Bohemian frontier.

But, furthermore, it would be utterly impossible to push the frontier in any sort of zigzag line so that the detached areas would not include a great many Czechs, for the populations everywhere are mixed up. Also, there are German islands everywhere. If you wanted to give every German to Germany, along with the soil on which he lives, you would simply have to abandon Czechoslovakia altogether. In the course of time this argument will be presented — by the Germans.

Those who listen to the German claims seem utterly to forget that what Germany is asking for is not German peoples, but the territory on which they live as well — territory which they colonized centuries ago, in a great push eastward. Any German Nazi who wants to be joined with the Reich can join himself to it, with the blessing of the Czechoslovak Republic. But Germany does not want her Germans. She wants a lot of landscape, factories, mines, banks, schools and armaments — that never in the whole of history belonged to her.

The Czechoslovak Republic could solve this problem in completely good faith if there were good faith and not imperialism behind the minority agitation.

Czechoslovakia could permit every German-speaking citizen to say whether he wants to live in a democratic Czechoslovak republic with his language, cultural institutions and other legitimate minority rights secure, but otherwise subject to the same constitution and laws that govern everybody else.

If he doesn't want to, and feels that he must join Germany, he could be given a reasonable length of time in which to liquidate his affairs and he could then be permitted to go and take with him all his property.

The argument that Germany is overpopulated already could also be met.

Czechoslovakia could agree to take in return for all the optants leaving Czechoslovakia an equal number of refugees from the Reich who would rather live under a democratic system.

Germany then would have to agree to the same terms as the Czechoslovaks offer — namely, that all such emigrants from the Reich are permitted to take their property with them. And the emigrants would also have to be guaranteed on both sides freedom of choice and be protected against persecution for announcing their intentions. That also could be arranged if the exchange were supervised by a neutral commission.

The Henlein movement, in the form that it has taken, amounts to an internal conspiracy against the constitution and stability of a country which Great Britain collaborated to set up, and whose governmental system is founded on Anglo-Saxon principles of liberty and law. If social peace, stability, competence to meet internal and external obligations and popular will to maintain that state are measures of a claim for sovereignty and independence, then Czechoslovakia can meet all requirements.

Czechoslovakia has never asked for any privileges from Great Britain, except those she shared as a member of the League of Nations — with which she accepted equal responsibilities. She cannot ask Great Britain, with the League defunct, to fight for her.

But she can expect, I should think, that any British government will use all peaceful diplomatic means to support her and will not collaborate in any way to undermine her.

May 18, 1938

III

It is admittedly difficult for an American to criticize British foreign policy, because for twenty years this country has been the

world's moral mentor, and often common scold. Except for Mr. Hull's trade policy, which has had a clear line, our foreign policy has largely consisted of affirming moral principles, and at the same time making it clear that we would do nothing whatever to see that those moral principles were enforced unless American interests were specifically involved.

Now, the very people who have supported our own isolationism are hugely indignant when Great Britain adopts something of the same attitude. The people of the United States would undoubtedly like to see Fascism checked in this world, and when Great Britain shows a disinclination to check it at the possible cost of war, our very isolationists grow indignant and begin to tell Great Britain what she ought to do.

This attitude on our part undoubtedly arises from the unconscious thought that British institutions are seriously threatened by the increasing victories of Fascism, while ours are not. This is, I believe, a supreme illusion on our part. Specifically, the triumphs of Fascism in Spain will, without the shadow of a doubt, have repercussions on the whole Spanish-speaking world, and the most important outposts of that world are in South America. If a victorious Franco goes into cahoots with the Germans and perhaps the Italians to exploit that world, with the political and economic devices which Fascism has so ingeniously perfected, our trade with South America and our influence there will be seriously affected, and the Monroe Doctrine, which is our only consistent and traditional foreign policy, will be challenged.

The American attitude toward Europe consists in the comfortable belief that all countries and notably Great Britain are trying to trap us into an alliance — that 'England expects every American to do his duty.' That we may some day wish somebody else to do his duty by us never seems to cross our minds.

Having said these words about our own ostrichism, one can with better grace regard the ostrichism of Mr. Chamberlain.

Great Britain is rearming. The object of that rearmament is Germany. The British population does not start in its beds if an automobile backfires in the streets because it fears that a Russian bomb or a French bomb or a Czechoslovak bomb has exploded. It starts because it fears a German bomb.

It is not the fear of Russia or Czechoslovakia that has led Mr. Chamberlain into making the most uncompromising military alliance with France that has ever existed in history. It is the fear of Germany. The British military policy is based on the assumption of a possible war with Germany. But this does not seem to be the assumption of the diplomatic policy. For while arming for war, the Chamberlain government is apparently working toward setting up a new Holy Alliance, a *pax tyrannica*, which will, it is fondly hoped, maintain peace, and which will strengthen at the same time the only potential enemies.

The internal political results of this dual policy begin to be apparent. The British people, while called on to sacrifice themselves to arm England, begin to wonder for what purpose they are arming her. When they think of defending England they think not only of English soil and the British Empire, but of those British institutions associated with the words 'freedom' and 'democracy.'

Once they think that the defense of these things is being abandoned, they wonder, Why be so zealous to defend? The political disaffection is being shown in the by-elections.

In the House of Commons there are complaints that the rearmament program is going along too slowly. There is difficulty with labor, and the Labor Party indicates why this is so: while labor is being asked to be prepared to defend democratic England, the British government is selling out democratic principles in all directions in the hope of maintaining peace.

While it is rearming it is making every conceivable concession to the only powers that threaten peace, and each of these concessions strengthens those powers.

The argument is made that Britain is not yet prepared, and that some day in the future, with more airplanes and other weapons, she will be able to take a firmer stand.

But meanwhile Mr. Henlein feels it quite in order to go to England to try to get British support for pressing the Czechoslovak government into greater concessions to his German Nazi movement, despite the fact that if Henlein gets what he wants, Czechoslovakia will be delivered over, either to serious internal strife or to becoming an out-and-out-vassal of Germany.

A Germany that can depend upon the neutrality of the Czech army, and that can get access to the grain fields of Hungary, and the oil and mines of Rumania, will be an enormously strong enemy and an extremely uncomfortable and domineering friend.

And, as it happens, Czechoslovakia has right now more troops, airplanes and equipment than Britain can train, build or buy in any foreseeable future, and has announced that she will use them if her sovereignty is threatened.

The only thing that might persuade her not to use them would be if she were deserted by everybody.

The Czechs are among the most realistic people in the world. They are passionately quiet patriots, who marched halfway around the world in the last war to fight on the Allied side for their national freedom. At that time they took a very long risk. Right in the heart of the German orbit, they joined the Allied cause at the moment when it looked weakest. And it is by no means certain whether, having waited and worked three hundred years for independence, they will give it up without a fight.

And if Czechoslovakia is turned into another Spain, there will be a great many people who will march more than halfway around the world to defend her cause. Mankind, as well as God, loves those who help themselves.

So, if Britain writes off Czechoslovakia, she has no guaranty of peace, but barter away arms that she might use.

It may be that Great Britain has written America off her books as any potential source of help in a crisis, but it ought to be put on the record that the Chamberlain policy has brought British stock to an all-time low among the people of this country, and that French docility to that policy has had the same effect on the attitude of Americans toward France.

This country has no love for the British Empire as such. We do have affection for certain British institutions which were the parents of many of our own; the same institutions which the British people are still prepared to defend. They are the most powerful bonds that unite the two countries. But I don't think this country would ever fight in any showdown for an England sympathetic to Fascism or in alliance with it.

A great many Americans who were in favor of the embargo on arms to Spain, because they believed that Great Britain and France were ready to enforce genuine non-intervention there, feel that we were sold out, and became unwittingly the ally of one side in the civil war.

Of course, there are circles in the United States who, though they might prefer to preserve democracy, provided it can be kept sufficiently antiseptic, are so scared of Communism that they prefer Hitler to Stalin, and, like their British brethren, hope that Hitler will eventually 'clean up the Bolshevik menace' or that Germany and Russia will spring at each other's throats and weaken themselves in war. But these circles are small. Nobody is afraid of Russian armed aggression against any democratic western power, and what sympathy there is for Russian Communism derives from this fact. If it becomes clear that Russia is the only country on earth that will defend small democracies while great democracies are prepared to bargain them away, then Heaven help the great democracies!

The only advantages which the dictatorships possess today derive from the clearness of their policies and from the fact that

the imaginations of their leaders encompass a wider range of possibilities.

The failure to comprehend the dictatorial mind is the greatest weakness of democracy. Democratic governments cannot accept the possibility of war. All the dictatorships accept it with complete realism. That is their strength, and not the fact that they are better able to fight. They are not.

The dictatorships do not weaken themselves for the sake of maintaining peace. They strengthen themselves at the risk of war.

The Fascist powers do not put any limit whatsoever upon their possible expansion. Hitler dreamed in 1924 of making Germany the sovereign of the Continent of Europe, and there is not the slightest reason to believe that he has ever abandoned that dream or ever will abandon it unless it is perfectly clear that he can't realize it.

The dictatorships shrink before no methods, nor do they dream of asking for universal rules to apply to themselves as well as others. They will arrest and condemn to death any foreigner who attempts intervention in their internal affairs, but they openly announce their own intention of intervening in other countries' internal affairs.

And at not a point do they meet organized unequivocal opposition. On the contrary, and because of the hope of maintaining peace, they receive collaboration.

Hitler did not annex Austria until he was perfectly sure that nobody was going to oppose him. He got the equivalent of that assurance, as far as Britain was concerned, from Lord Halifax. I doubt whether Lord Halifax openly gave that assurance, but he certainly conveyed to Hitler the impression that Britain would be disinterested, and unless things are going on of which we are not informed — for pre-war secret diplomacy is on again with a vengeance — the same impression is being conveyed to Hitler regarding Czechoslovakia.

The effect of all this is not only to fill the Fascist powers with arrogance, but, what is much worse, to fill the democratic countries with a sense of defeatism. They are vastly overrating the actual power of the dictatorships, and vastly underrating their own, and by this fact they are contributing to making the Fascist boast a reality.

May 20, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

September 3, 1938

In the Rhineland Germany moved 50,000 to 60,000 troops into her new Siegfried fortifications facing France's Maginot Line.

September 6, 1938

In an address at the Nuremberg Conference, Chancellor Hitler announced that Germany had had a good harvest, that she had stored food reserves and that the idea of an economic blockade 'can henceforth be buried.'

September 9, 1938

Chancellor Adolf Hitler declared that Germany was 'determined to capitulate to no one' in an address to 180,000 National Socialist district leaders at Nuremberg. France prepared to distribute gas masks to civilians, and sand was brought in to protect public buildings in Paris and other cities.

Where We Stand

IN VIEW of the situation in Europe, it might be well to review our own position in the event of a major European conflict. Perhaps the simplest way to do so is to compare it with 1914.

First of all, this country passionately desires to keep out of any war, and has engaged in numerous investigations and framed legislation with a view to preventing our participation in one. Public opinion is overwhelmingly anti-war, and various polls show that a large proportion of our people do not think we ought to fight under any circumstances unless invaded.

Some of these polls also show, however, that a very considerable percentage of those who vote against war think that if there is a major conflict we shall not avoid being drawn into it.

Certainly nobody in the United States today thinks of sending an expeditionary force to Europe, and nobody in a responsible position in any European country either desires or expects us to.

But it is equally certain that the American position toward Europe is much clearer and more uniform than it was between 1914 and 1916.

There is, first of all, our changed position with regard to neutrality. In 1914 the basis of our neutrality policy was the historic doctrine of 'freedom of the seas.' That simply meant that we claimed the right, as neutrals, to trade with anybody, neutrals or belligerents. Under this doctrine we attempted to run the British blockade of Germany, and in the first two years of the war we had serious conflicts with Great Britain, who, of course, attempted to prevent us from rendering impotent her most important weapon against the enemy.

Nazi Germany is almost completely isolated from American sympathy. A recent Gallup poll of considerable significance indicated that 65 per cent of Americans would, in a world war, sympathize with the western democracies, 32 per cent would be indifferent and only 3 per cent would desire to see Germany or Italy win.

There are also much more realistic reasons for this distribution of sympathy than there were in 1914.

Although to a considerable extent the opposition to Germany and Italy is ideological and sentimental, we are actually — as we were not in 1914 — in an open clash with German theory and practice in the economic field.

Secretary Hull's trade policies, which are extremely clear, consistent and liberal, are diametrically opposite to the Nazi trade system, which conflicts with us in South American markets and elsewhere all over the world.

The newest German deal whereby the products of oil fields expropriated from Americans and Britons are to go to Germany in return for German goods is only one example of how this policy has worked. We have serious grounds of self-interest for resenting the German economic policy whereby Germany lives as a parasite on the free economies of the rest of the world, and we are paying by millions of unemployed for the fact that the world has been kept in political and economic unrest for the last five years.

We have, in our neutrality legislation, definitely abandoned this doctrine. The new and legal theory is that we should keep out of war by keeping out of danger. But it is left to the discretion of the President to decide to what extent most of the Neutrality Act should be applied. The sale of arms to both sides must be abandoned, provided it is decided that a state of war exists, but the Chinese-Japanese conflict indicates that when public opinion has more sympathy with one side than the other even this provision can be suspended by simply not recognizing that there is a war. And apart from the sale of arms everything is discretionary, and at most the President is empowered to apply the cash-and-carry clause, which simply means that we sell only to those who can pay and cart off the goods.

Under the terms of the law, therefore, we could, and almost certainly would, cease immediately to have intercourse with Germany in case of a war between that country and the western powers. We would cease because Britain still controls the seas and we would not attempt to run the blockade with our own ships, and because, even if she could carry, Germany has not the cash with which to buy nor any appreciable amount of American securities that could be mobilized to pay for American goods.

Although Mr. Hitler stated in his proclamation to the party congress at Nuremberg on Monday that Germany was capable of surviving a blockade, this opinion is not shared by official

German economic and military publications. The economic situation of Germany in case of war is admirably reviewed this month by William Woodside in *Harper's Magazine* in an article which takes all its information from German sources. The *Deutscher Volkswirt*, organ of Doctor Schacht, the *Militarisches Wochenblatt*, the official publication of the army, and the *Frankfurter Zeitung* have warned repeatedly in the last few months that Germany is incapable of surviving a blockade.

On the other hand, Great Britain and France have probably \$10,000,000,000 worth of gold and American securities that could and would be immediately mobilized and utilized in this country. Although the Johnson Act forbids credits to nations in default to us — and that includes nearly everybody — it would play no rôle for at least a year.

In 1914 it took approximately eight months before the first substantial orders for war materials were placed in America. Then, people did not believe that the war would last long. Now, plans are ready and orders would be placed immediately and the cash and securities available would be sufficient to finance all transportable purchases for fully a year.

Leaving all questions of sympathy aside, it would be difficult for any government to refuse orders which would, however temporarily, solve the problems of the American farmer, industrialist and worker.

But questions of sympathy cannot be ignored, and in this respect the situation is *very* different from what it was in 1914.

From 1914 to 1916, and certainly up to the sinking of the *Lusitania*, there was a very strong pro-German sympathy in the United States, fostered by our sizable population of German blood, by an enormous respect for German culture which had been strongly represented in the universities for a generation and, incidentally, supported by many influential Americans of German-Jewish origin.

A great many Americans who had no ties with Germany entertained grave and justified doubts as to the injustice of the German cause.

Pre-war Germany was, in the eyes of hundreds of thousands of Americans, a great civilization, a part of the western Christian world, and, although not a parliamentary state in the stricter sense of the word, a state in which there were legitimate government, independent courts, free speech and free science and art — an intellectual society which was part of the common western civilization.

The most important change in the situation is the fact that the opposition to the Fascist states is strongest today in the very circles which in 1914-16 were most pacifist or pro-German — in the ranks of the Left.

If, then, war should break out in Europe there is every indication that the moral and economic support of the United States would go to the western democracies. The neutrality policy is on their side; national self-interest is on their side; financial and industrial interests are on their side, and the masses are on their side.

All of which seem excellent reasons why the Fascist countries would do exceedingly well not to risk a major war. A major war would be very serious for the western democracies. But it would be disaster for the Fascist powers.

September 9, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

September 14, 1938

In the city of Eger, in the Sudeten part of Czechoslovakia, after a day of quiet, fighting was renewed when police were fired on as they broke into an alleged Henleinist munitions depot. Armored police cars returned the fire. The Czech government said the total casualties in the Sudeten area were 23 killed, 75 wounded.

September 15, 1938

British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain conferred with German Chancellor Adolf Hitler in the latter's summer home in Berchtesgaden, in Bavaria. The subject was the situation in the Sudeten Mountain regions of Czechoslovakia, where 3,500,000 Germans are clamoring for reunion of their district with the Reich.

September 16, 1938

On his return by air to London from Germany, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain reported first to King George and then to the cabinet his conference with German Chancellor Hitler. Viscount Runciman flew from Prague to London with a memorandum from the Czech government, which by decree had outlawed the Sudeten German Party and 'its Nazi Storm Troop formations.' Thousands of Sudetens began to swarm across the border into the Reich. Britain asked the League of Nations to make provisionally optional the military and economic sanctions provided for by the Covenant against an aggressor.

September 17, 1938

All of Czechoslovakia was put by the government in a 'state of emergency.' Measures affecting the liberty of the individual, the secrecy of letters, the right of assembly and freedom of the press were decreed. This augments the martial law already in effect in Sudeten German districts. Konrad Henlein, outlawed Sudeten German Party leader, announced the

formation along both sides of the German-Czechoslovak border of an armed 'Free Corps' of army-trained Sudeten Germans.

September 18, 1938

French Premier Edouard Daladier flew to London and conferred with British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain on the Czechoslovak situation. Meanwhile, in Prague, Premier Milan Hodza in an address to the Czech nation declared that a plebiscite on the Sudeten German proposals would be unacceptable.

September 19, 1938

The British cabinet, in London, and the French cabinet, in Paris, separately voted to back the London agreement of Chamberlain and Daladier to support Hitler in demanding the right of self-determination for the German minorities in Czechoslovakia.

September 20, 1938

Britain and France, acting jointly, proposed to Czechoslovakia that she agree to cede her Sudeten areas to Germany. It was disclosed that the French government had issued a ministerial order suppressing all news reels and motion pictures taking what authorities considered to be a controversial stand on Czechoslovakia.

September 21, 1938

The British and French ministers to Czechoslovakia told President Edward Benes, in Prague, that his arbitration proposal was declined and that there must be an immediate agreement to cede the Sudeten area if armed invasion by Germany was to be avoided.

September 22, 1938

British Prime Minister Chamberlain and Chancellor Hitler, at Godesberg on the Rhine, renewed the conference which had been begun on September 15 at the chancellor's summer home near Berchtesgaden, Bavaria. At the close of the day Chamberlain issued an appeal to the populations of all countries concerned to remain calm, and asked that local conditions in Czechoslovakia remain orderly.

*New York Times**September 19, 1938*

PARIS SEES VICTORY AT LONDON PARLEY — But France's Position is Not Clear if Czechs Refuse to Accept Proposals.

*New York Times**September 20, 1938*

CABINET IN FRANCE FAVORS PARTITION — Reversal of Nation's Policy Since 1918 Seen — Prospect of Peace Pleases People.

Obituary for Europe

TO WRITE with calm about the news that broke on Monday in London is almost impossible, but calm is needed to consider that news and to review as many of its implications as it is possible to envisage.

One can, of course, make a general statement no less true because it is sweeping.

On Monday the prime minister of Great Britain and the prime minister of France announced to the world that they had decided to throw the last democratic republic east of the Rhine into the jaws of the Nazis.

In doing so France broke a solemnly given pledge, reiterated time and again within the very last few weeks. In doing so Great Britain cut herself loose from a republic of which she herself was one of the prime architects.

But this is not by any means the worst aspect of what has happened. Great Britain could, from the beginning, have withheld herself from the whole matter.

She could silently have decided that she stood for isolation from the problems of Europe east of the Rhine. She could have left the matter to her ally, France — let France, who was definitely committed, take the lead — and abided by the results.

Instead, Great Britain first entertained Mr. Henlein; then took

the lead and sent the Runciman commission to Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia, when that commission arrived to 'make peace,' was an extremely strong state, with a centralized government.

Lord Runciman persuaded the Czechoslovak government greatly to weaken that state by making concessions to the minority groups which would decentralize the government.

The Czechs made those concessions, all of them except one, for the sake of 'conciliating Hitler' and keeping the peace of Europe.

The one which they refused to make they were advised against even by the *Times* of London — namely, the right of the Germans to set up a Nazi state inside Czechoslovakia.

They were even prepared to negotiate further until Henlein, on German soil, offered them an ultimatum.

All the concessions were made to show good will toward Great Britain and to prevent Czechoslovakia's allies from having to go to war to save her. It was known, it was announced, that Lord Runciman believed these were all the concessions which any national state could decently be asked to make.

A week ago these British recommendations were rejected by Hitler — that is to say, by the head of an outside state.

And now Great Britain took up the ultimatum from Hitler, without even consulting Czechoslovakia, and France, her ally, permitted Great Britain to do so, and even collaborated.

And Great Britain and France, on behalf of Czechoslovakia though by no means delegated to do so by her, accepted the ultimatum.

And with this goes the last vestige of law in Europe, the last shred of prestige of either Great Britain or France, the last hope of settling anything by negotiation, compromise, treaty and law, or by anything whatsoever except sheer brute force.

And with it goes the last shred of respect for what calls itself 'democracy,' but what has plainly degenerated into sheer personal government inside the so-called democratic great powers.

For who instructed Mr. Chamberlain to go to Berchtesgaden? Who instructed him to embark upon a course which would prove to be irrevocable? Under whose orders was he turning all Europe either over to Fascism or over to revolution and war, or a combination of the last two?

Under whose instructions was he personally dissolving the League of Nations?

Not only did France and Britain desert Czechoslovakia, but they weakened her for defense in advance; they encouraged her to delay; they undermined the authority of her leaders at home — undermined it, because what Czech today believes that Mr. Beneš and Mr. Hodza were wise in trusting to the good will and honorable intentions of France and Britain?

And now, finally, they have even broken down her moral case! They have put her in the position where, in the minds of hundreds of thousands of people naturally ignorant of Czechoslovakia and of central Europe, she, and not Germany, will be considered the aggressor!

Not only have they assassinated her, but they have besmirched her character!

Czechoslovakia never had a propaganda ministry until last week. In all the years that I have been a journalist, I have never received a single piece of unsolicited information from the Czech government! But I know Czechoslovakia as I know every country in Europe where there is a German minority.

But this is not all, nor is it even, in the wide view, the most important thing.

Great Britain and France, by their action, have aligned themselves on the side of the racial theories of Hitler, against the conception of national sovereignty for which Britain has consistently stood and for which she must stand for sheer self-preservation.

The implications are appalling! First of all, Hitler's doctrine threatens with disintegration every small state where there is a

German population, or any other racial minority — Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark, Poland, among the first; Rumania, Yugoslavia, among the second.

And the British and French empires? The doctrine applied to Czechoslovakia by the British will flare in Arabia and in Morocco, and throughout all the colonies of both empires!

Germany will rule from the North to the Black Sea — rule with her mobilized 'Nation in Arms,' her concentration camps, her arbitrary law, her barter policy, which makes her a parasite upon the whole world economy and its chief underminer. And that is not all.

The very thing that Britain has tried to stem — the awful ideological war, with all its accompaniments of civil strife and revolution — has now been let loose! The one thing that could have prevented a horrible conflict between Fascism and Communism inside all countries was the unquestioned honor, prestige, wisdom and courage of the great democracies. The great democracies today are worth nothing whatsoever in the minds of the common people of the world.

If it is possible to halt the internal disintegration of France, that will be a miracle.

Nor shall we escape the inexorable effects of what has happened.

The United States this morning is isolated. But it has Fascism rampant on its southern frontiers, and that Fascism, enormously strengthened by victory, will become more virulent. A totally victorious European Fascism, or European civil strife between ideologies, will have repercussions here.

And if we are to remain a democracy we shall have to make the most heroic, intelligent and united efforts, to achieve the fullest sense of responsibility, the greatest democratic discipline and inner collaboration of all elements and the deepest sense and appreciation of our communal existence.

September 21, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

September 23, 1938

The conference between Chamberlain and Hitler was resumed at Godesberg. A joint official communiqué said that 'friendly' talks between the two leaders had ended with the submission by Hitler of a note defining 'the final German position' on the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia, and added that Chamberlain had undertaken to communicate this memorandum to the Prague government.

September 23, 1938

An order was signed by the Czech government for general military mobilization.

September 24, 1938

The British government laid Germany's peace terms before the Czech government in Prague. France ordered more army reserves.

September 25, 1938

Germany's terms for the surrender of the Sudeten area were rejected by Czechoslovakia in a note handed in London to the British foreign secretary by the Czech minister, Jan Masaryk. 'The proposals,' the note said, 'go far beyond what we agreed to in the so-called Anglo-French plan. They deprive us of every safeguard for our national existence.'

The Czech Acceptance

I SUPPOSE that in the long run nothing is ever really lost. I have no doubt in my heart that sometime, no one knows how remotely, when this world returns to the admiration of reason, re-

spect for integrity and rule by law, and therefore can again claim to be civilized, peoples who have never set foot on the soil of Czechoslovakia will set up monuments to a small, tired, courageous man who, under fire, set the world a model of how a civilized human being ought to act — and whose people displayed to the world the same qualities.

The Czechoslovak government's acceptance of the Hitler-Daladier ultimatum is one of the most civilized documents of history. It is without rancor, without vituperation, without self-justification, and without a single word of attack on anyone. But it has also not missed a single vital point.

'We wished to suggest a settlement of the dispute by arbitration, but the suggestion was rejected by others.'

The others are England and France, who have preached peace by arbitration for twenty years.

'The government is determined to maintain peace and order and independence under the new conditions which confront it. We will defend freedom, self-sufficiency and independence under the new conditions, strengthened by the love of all people who belong to our state.'

There is again a strong plea against provoking violence.

'Farmers, workers, industrialists, employers and soldiers, all remain at your old posts and do your duty! Remember that you cannot do anything by violence or by demonstrations in the streets.... Authorities, continue your usual duties....'

'Do not permit yourselves to be moved to inconsidered actions by agitators and provocateurs. Do not be depressed. Remain firm in your faith in the republic.'

One of the last sentences is amazing.

'Our state and administration remain responsible to the world for the protection of the interests and security of the whole population of Czechoslovakia, Czech and German. This responsibility will be met.'

Several important things have happened within the last twenty-four hours that indicate that the issue of war or peace is still not settled — not settled even on the basis of the extreme capitulation of Mr. Chamberlain.

I write these lines as the conference at Godesberg is going on, but if the German press can be credited — and the German press is merely Hitler's mouthpiece — then Hitler will raise his demands. This would be logical and according to pattern, because throughout the entire history of his régime, internally and externally, every single concession ever made to Hitler has been the basis, not on which to achieve stability and peace, but from which to move forward.

Hitler, anxious to sever the Franco-Polish alliance once and for all, has been conspiring to hand a piece of Czechoslovakia to Poland. Hitler, anxious to bring Hungary into a hard-and-fast alliance with him, has been conspiring to hand another slice to Hungary.

The German press is clamoring that President Beneš shall meet the same fate as Schuschnigg.

In other words, as I write these lines, it looks as if Mr. Chamberlain were going to Godesberg to get himself an even stronger ultimatum than he got at Berchtesgaden.

The entire democratic process has practically been suspended in Great Britain. An 'authoritative' source says that Chamberlain is going this time with demands of his own — the demobilization of German reservists now concentrated on the Czechoslovak frontier; the international demarcation of Czechoslovakia; an international commission for exchanging and transferring populations; cessation of the German press campaign against Czechoslovakia; an appeal from Hitler for peace in the interval, and guaranties, including economic ones, for the integrity of what remains of the Czech state.

Unfortunately, however, it is not known whether these are

really Mr. Chamberlain's demands, so that he has put himself in the position of backing down without having to repudiate any previously given promises.

It is certainly important that the London *Times* states that any threats to the Czechoslovak parts of Czechoslovakia will be an entirely different matter from the ceding of the Sudeten areas. Also, Lord Winterton's broadcast saying that Britain is determined not to approve the demands of the Polish and Hungarian governments is particularly important because of the source from which it comes, for Lord Winterton is close to Lord Halifax.

The crucial point now is whether the British are willing to guarantee the remnants of Czechoslovakia and the limitation of losses of Czech territories to really German parts of the country.

But the previous concessions that have been granted have made a promise from Great Britain to guarantee the independence of what is left of Czechoslovakia an infinitely more dangerous thing than it would have been to guarantee the whole of Czechoslovakia.

First of all, the British and French have conceded the principle of the rights of racial or linguistic minorities to secede under the threat of force from a sovereign state. Once that principle is conceded, the Hungarian and Polish rights are exactly as just as the German.

Second, in conceding the right of the Sudetens to secede, they have appallingly weakened the defenses of what is left of Czechoslovakia and made it very much harder to defend her.

Third, they have done their best to break down the morale of the Czech population, which has stood up in a way to excite the admiration of every decent human being in the world.

Hitler knows all this, so why he should make concessions now from a much stronger position than he had last week it is difficult to see.

And one can perhaps be forgiven the suspicion that the British

government is giving the impression of being resolute against further requests merely to calm down public opinion in England, which has stiffened considerably since the attacks yesterday by Anthony Eden, Winston Churchill and the leaders of the labor movement. After what has happened this week one can be forgiven for suspecting that Mr. Chamberlain is only quieting the British democracy until he has committed another irrevocable act.

September 23, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

September 26, 1938

Chancellor Hitler, in an address to Germany and the world, broadcast from Berlin, recounted his demands on the Czechs and reiterated his intention to march his troops into Sudeten on October 1, unless the region was meantime handed over to Germany peaceably.

September 27, 1938

In a London broadcast Prime Minister Chamberlain said he still hoped for peace.

Two Voices

IN THE last thirty-six hours we have heard two voices. Each of those voices was ominous. Each of those voices told the world an awful fact: namely, that unless something quite invisible in the picture at this moment occurs all of Europe will be plunged into war.

The first voice declared war. The second voice pled for peace. The first voice delivered an ultimatum. The second voice offered once again to take up the issue and to arbitrate it. The first voice shrieked and screamed to the accompaniment of a tom-tom of mechanized howls from a drilled mob — howls that seemed to come from the throats of ten thousand robots. The second voice had no accompaniment. A man stood alone and spoke.

The first voice was very loud. The second voice was very quiet.

But the second voice was more ominous than the first.

For the first voice was Unreason, and a vast cry of aggression, masking fear. And the second voice was Reason, taking a last stand. It was a rather old voice, tired, confessing horror. But it was calm, and it was sovereign.

Men of science and men of reason are responsible for the fact that this war — if there will be war — broke out between two voices heard all over the globe. For the radio, the very symbol of man's inventiveness, of the closeness of each part of the world to the other, of the desire of human beings to communicate with each other, of the intimate integration of western civilization across all national boundaries, in the vast kingdom of the air, carried them.

Every person who heard the two voices, the two speeches, felt his heart warmed by one and repulsed by the other. Everything that makes a human being conscious and sentient forced a choice between one voice or the other: between Hitler's voice and words, and Chamberlain's.

Only, some people did not hear both voices. Seventy-five million people in Germany, for instance, with very few exceptions, heard only one.

There was a line in Hitler's speech which caught and held my attention. 'No one has ever been able to reproach me with being a coward. I never was a coward. I have always been at the front, with you all behind me. Even now I am leading, and you are following as one nation. . . .'

Why did you say that, Mr. Hitler? Certainly no one has ever reproached you with being a coward. Before you spoke ten thousand people howled their cheers to Doctor Goebbels, who promised that seventy-five million Germans would follow you anywhere you chose to lead them.

You are the nation's hero. You stand on a pinnacle of power that no man in this century and few men in history have ever achieved. In your name seventy-five million people greet each

other on the streets. You are offered by your enthusiasts as a substitute for God.

Nobody has called you a coward in five years. You have known only adulation, only adoration, only blind obedience, only trusting faith. Why did you raise that question?

You raised it because someone very near to you had whispered that you were a coward. Someone with whom you are in continual close communion. Someone who sleeps with you and wakes with you. His name is Adolf. Adolf Hitler.

True, you brushed that voice aside. True, you shrieked to high heaven in an attempt to drown it out. But in that shriek was a horrid scream of fear. People did not have to know what you were saying to know that. And even your words could not obliterate that tearing, corrosive, wild anxiety.

Because the voice of Adolf Hitler was saying to Adolf Hitler: You do not dare to tell the German people the truth! You must deliberately confuse the issue. You must pretend that the ultimatum of Berchtesgaden and the ultimatum of Godesberg are one and the same thing.

You must not let the German people know that you are not fighting to liberate the Sudeten Germans, who had been promised to you already, not only by the 'criminal Benes' but by France, and by Great Britain, on their words of honor.

You must make the German people think that nowhere have your demands met a conciliatory spirit!

You must leave the German people — the puzzled, anxious, peace-desiring German people, who are hermetically sealed against information from the outside world — in the belief that they were about to embark on a little adventure, an isolated war!

You knew, Mr. Hitler, that Russia was mobilizing, that Britain was mobilizing, that France was mobilizing. You knew that Poland was wavering, that Yugoslavia and Rumania had declared that they would support Czechoslovakia in the event of an attack on her by Hungary.

And you did not dare to tell the German people this!

Deliberately, you confused the issue. Deliberately, you suppressed the facts. Deliberately, you lied. Deliberately, you raked up twenty years of history to justify yourself, to spin out the time, to cover up the facts, the terrifying facts, the fateful and fatal facts.

Why, Mr. Hitler? Why were you afraid to tell the truth to the German people? You were afraid of the truth, Mr. Hitler. Terribly, terribly afraid.

Because you knew that if the German people knew the truth they would rise to no mechanical tom-toms, but they would rise again as people, as human beings, with a right to life, to liberty, to knowledge, with a right to be men and not blind automatons, with a right to have homes to live in, and wives to love, and children to cherish, and gay cities, and plowed fields not devastated by war — and for the love of Germany they would sweep you into the ash can of history.

Yes, Mr. Hitler, you are a coward. No one in your audience, perhaps, knew it. But you knew it.

The prime minister of Great Britain did not say he was no coward. He said he was afraid of war. 'It seems impossible that a quarrel which is already settled in principle should be the subject of war. . . . I can well understand why the Czechoslovak government have felt unable to accept the terms which have been put before them in the German memorandum. . . . I was taken completely by surprise when I got back to Germany and found that Hitler insisted that the territory should be handed over immediately and immediately occupied by German troops; that our previous arrangements of safeguarding the people within the territory who were not Germans or who did not want to join the German Reich were rejected.' With amazing understatement, the prime minister said, 'I find this attitude unreasonable.'

But immensely ominous were the simple words, 'If I were con-

vinced that any nation had made up its mind to dominate the world by fear of its force, I should feel that it must be resisted.'

And there lies the issue.

But the German nation has not made up its mind. The German nation cannot make up its mind. The German nation has no mind. The German nation has a 'Fuehrer,' who is its single mind, its single will, and who on Monday was afraid to tell the German nation the truth.

September 28, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

September 28, 1938

Chancellor Hitler called on the British, French and Italian premiers to meet him on September 29, at Munich, for a further talk on the Czech question.

September 29, 1938

After hours of discussion with Chancellor Hitler at Munich, British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, Premier Edouard Daladier of France and Premier Benito Mussolini of Italy reached an agreement under which the Sudeten area in Czechoslovakia is to be occupied by German forces, not all at once, but gradually, beginning on October 1.

September 30, 1938

Following the signing, at Munich, of the Four-Power Sudeten-Czechoslovakia Pact, an international commission was appointed to arrange the details of occupation, including the plebiscite areas. The Czechs were represented on the body, which almost at once began work, in Berlin.

October 1, 1938

German troops crossed the German-Czechoslovak frontier at 2 P.M.

October 3, 1938

Chancellor Hitler and his troops began to enter and take possession of the Asch and Eger sections of Sudeten Czechoslovakia.

October 4, 1938

The German forces, in occupying Zone 3 of Sudeten Czechoslovakia, reached the Czechs' Maginot Line.

October 4, 1938

Premier Daladier got the French Chamber's endorsement of the Munich accord by a vote of 535 to 75.

October 5, 1938

Eduard Benes, President of Czechoslovakia, resigned his office.

October 6, 1938

In England the House of Commons ratified the Chamberlain peace policy as to Czechoslovakia, 366 to 144.

October 8, 1938

Chancellor Hitler in Saarbrücken said: 'As a strong State . . . we want nothing from others. We have no wishes or demands. We want peace.'

October 10, 1938

The German Army completed its occupation of the Sudeten territory and is now installed along the new frontier.

'Peace' — And the Crisis Begins

'Perhaps the pacifist-humane idea is quite a good one in cases where the man at the top has first thoroughly conquered and subdued the world to the extent of making himself the sole master of it.' — Adolf Hitler, in 'Mein Kampf.'

WHAT happened on Friday is called 'Peace.' Actually it is an international Fascist *coup d'état*.

The 'Four-Power Accord' is not even a diplomatic document. It is certainly not a normal treaty. It is such a fantastic piece of paper that it is difficult to describe except as a hurriedly concocted armistice made in advance of a war to permit the occupation by German troops of a territory which by sheer threat and demonstration of force they have conquered by 'agreement.'

All of the territory where there are more than fifty per cent of German-speaking peoples will be evacuated by the Czechoslovaks and occupied by the German Army within ten days, although there are hundreds of thousands of people in this territory who are either not German or are anti-Nazi and therefore constitute a racial and political minority.

This document provides no protection whatsoever for their lives, their properties or their existences.

Not a clause indicates that they are to be protected in any manner from this occupation.

Those of us who know and have seen what the Nazi authorities do to political minorities realize that this can only result in a panicky flight into the interior of Czechoslovakia. It means the open establishment of terror.

No consideration is paid anywhere in this fantastic document to the reapportionment of financial and industrial interests — banks or industries the ownership of which is not necessarily on the spot — and this in spite of the fact that the British and French governments know that in the occupation of Austria the property of political minorities, and in particular of Jews, was simply confiscated.

There is not the most elementary consideration of justice.

An international commission will determine further territories in which a plebiscite is to be held, and will fix the conditions.

This will give plebiscites in areas containing more than fifty per cent Czechs, although no plebiscites will be held in areas containing more than fifty per cent Germans.

The pressure of the Nazis in contiguous territories occupied by German troops, their immense and cunningly organized propaganda, their house-by-house and name-by-name political organization; the ever-present threat that if the territories go German the political minorities will be exterminated, will assure the outcome of these plebiscites. *One might just as well cede them to Germany in the first place.*

Czechs and political minorities are given the right of option in and out of the ceded territories, but they must move within six months, and the conditions for exercising the option are left to a German-Czechoslovak commission. Which simply means that they are left to the Germans, considering the relative power position.

Compared with this the Treaty of Versailles is a great humane document and a normal and reasonable treaty.

The Treaty of Versailles allowed German nationals incorporated in the then new Czechoslovak state to opt for German nationality. They were given two years in which to make a decision and then twelve months in which to exercise it — three years in all — and the treaty guaranteed their right to retain ownership of their landed property in the territory of the state that they left, guaranteed their right to carry with them movable property of every description and prohibited the imposition of any export or import duties to be made upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

We know that the political minorities in Austria since the Nazi occupation have not been allowed to move anything, and that the property left behind by those who fled was confiscated in the form of an 'emigration tax,' a treatment of property usually described as Bolshevism.

The Treaty of Versailles was made after five months of deliberations, into which scores of experts were called — as experts and not as partisans.

But on Friday Czechoslovakia was disposed of by four men who in four hours made a judgment of the case in which the defendant was not even allowed to present a brief or be heard.

The very basis and spirit of Anglo-Saxon law was violated. What ruled that conference was Nazi law. Not one of the four men who thus arbitrarily disposed of a nation had ever set foot in Czechoslovakia, nor did any of them understand the other's

language — except Mussolini. They had a German interpreter. They decided on the primary basis of a report issued by a man who also until two months ago had never spent any time at all in Czechoslovakia.

Furthermore, Lord Runciman's Report, though it recommends the ceding of the territories to Germany, categorically denies that the Germans had ever been 'terrorized,' fixes the blame for the failure of negotiations on the Germans, states that at the time of his arrival many Sudetens still desired to remain in Czechoslovakia and accuses the Sudeten extremists, egged on by Germany, of provoking the demonstrations which, on the German side, were made an excuse for demanding armed occupation.

Even on the basis of what by internal evidence would seem to be a rigged report, Germany is guilty of provoking what was nearly an all-European war. And the punishment for this guilt is that she received everything that she was going to fight the war over.

This 'everything' is more than the Sudeten territories. It is more than a free hand in the east. It is the domination of Europe.

In this whole affair, described as an attempt to keep peace, the democratic process has been completely suspended. In both Britain and France the facts have been suppressed by the exercise of government pressure on the controlled radio and on the newspapers. The people of England and France are confronted with a *fait accompli* without even being able to gain in advance possession of the facts on which it is based.

The Runciman Report was published the day before the *fait accompli*!

Not only is Czechoslovakia dismembered — what is left is destroyed as a democratic republic. *It will be utterly impossible for the new state to exist, under the conditions created, as anything except a military and semi-Fascist dictatorship. There will be no*

civil liberties. There will be enforced labor. There must be — in order to save the nation at all!

Let us not call this peace. Peace is not the absence of war. Peace is a positive condition — the rule of law.

This peace has been established on lawlessness, and can only maintain itself by further lawlessness.

This peace has been established by dictatorship, and can only maintain itself by further dictatorship.

This peace has been established on betrayal, and can only maintain itself by further betrayal.

‘Peace,’ said Spinoza, ‘is virtue caused by strength of spirit.’ This is not peace without victory, for the victory goes to Mr. Hitler.

This is peace without virtue. Therefore, it is not peace — but the initiation of a terrific world crisis.

October 1, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

September 29, 1938

LIGHT IS SHED ON RECENT DIPLOMACY BY CHAMBERLAIN AND WHITE PAPER — The confused diplomatic picture of the past week was made clearer at a number of vital points today by the publication of a British White Paper containing the texts of ten important documents dealing with the Czech-German crisis.

Chronology of the Runciman Report

On August 2, Lord Runciman went to Prague as a mediator between the Czechoslovak government and the Sudeten Germans.

On September 9, Hitler made his Nuremberg address declaring, 'Germany will capitulate to no one.'

On September 11, an outline of British policy was handed to journalists in London, consisting of four points: first, anxiety in Britain is growing; second, Germany must not think that she can launch a quick victorious war; *third, the Czechoslovak government's Sudeten concessions have removed any justification for Germany to try violent measures. Elucidations and modifications may be needed, but the negotiations in Prague should continue on the basis of the Czech proposals.* Fourth, the security and integrity of France are intimately bound with Britain. Britain enjoys the sympathy of the United States.

On September 11, there was a Sudeten German demonstration before the Petrohad Castle in Czechoslovakia, where Lord Runciman was a guest. Lord Runciman conferred with the leaders and afterward stepped upon the balcony to address a

crowd, which was crying, 'Dear Lord, free us from Czechoslovakia!'

According to Walter B. Kerr, the correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune*, Lord Runciman said, 'My good German friends, you have a very beautiful country and I pray God may preserve it in peace.'

According to G. E. R. Gedye in the *New York Times*, Lord Runciman said, 'May God grant that this beautiful country have peace and that you will all continue to live in it in unity.'

Whichever version may be correct, there is no question that Lord Runciman in referring to the beautiful country meant Czechoslovakia and not Germany.

On September 14, it was announced that Chamberlain would fly to see Hitler.

On September 15, there was the meeting between Chamberlain and Hitler in Berchtesgaden.

On September 16, Chamberlain returned to London.

On September 16, Lord Runciman returned to London.

On September 17, there was a cabinet meeting in London.

On September 18, there was a consultation in London between British and French cabinet officials.

On September 19, Britain and France decided to accept the Hitler demands and recommend them to Benes.

On September 20, the Czech government replied that the plan was unacceptable and suggested arbitration in The Hague.

On September 21, the Czech government accepted the plan 'under extraordinary pressure' from the British and the French.

On September 21, Lord Runciman presented his report.

On September 22, at 5 P.M., the Czechoslovak government handed a communiqué to the French and British ministers saying, 'The government accepts the proposals as a whole and places special emphasis on the principle of the guaranties.'

(This communiqué, curiously enough, was not published in the British White Paper.)

On September 22, Chamberlain met Hitler at Godesberg.

On September 23, Czechoslovakia mobilized on the advice, or at least with the consent, of the British and French governments.

I present this chronology in order to try to throw some light on the British White Paper of September 28, and especially on the document which heads it, namely, the report of Lord Runciman to the Prime Minister.

Attention is called to the fact that Lord Runciman arrived in Prague on August 2; that on September 11, that is to say, only five days before he left Prague, the British government informed journalists *that the Czechoslovaks' Sudeten concessions had removed any justification for Germany to try violent measures, and that the negotiations should continue on the basis of the Czech proposals.* These proposals were the ones which Lord Runciman had been negotiating between the Czechs and the Sudeten Germans, the so-called 'fourth plan.'

One must certainly presume that the attitude of the British government on this date, September 11, was determined by the reports to date of Lord Runciman.

And on the same day Lord Runciman indicated in a one-sentence speech, definitely, according to one reporter, and by implication, according to another, that he wished to see a solution *inside* the Czechoslovak frontiers.

But the Runciman Report dated September 21, and published September 28, is dated *after* Berchtesgaden, and on the very date that 'extraordinary pressure' is put upon the Czechs by the British and the French.

When one studies the Runciman Report closely, it is revealed to be a remarkable and illogical document.

The bulk of the Report is a straightforward account of his negotiations between the Prague government and the Henleinists. Lord Runciman first considered the Sudeten German Party 'sketch' of the seventh of June — Henlein's eight-point program.

He asserts that negotiations took place on September 5 and 6 on the so-called 'fourth plan.'

He says: 'In my opinion, and I believe in the opinion of the more responsible Sudeten leaders, this plan embodied most of the Karlsbad eight points, and with a little extension could have been made to cover them in their entirety. . . . *Little doubt remains in my mind that the very fact that they were so favorable operated against their chances with the more extreme Sudeten Party members. . . . It is my belief that incidents [at Maehrisch Ostrau] were used to provide the excuse for the suspension of negotiations.*

'*The Czech government, however, once more gave way to the demands of the Sudeten German Party. . . . Again I am convinced that this did not suit the policy of the Sudeten extremists, and incidents were provoked and instigated on September 11, and with greater effect after the Hitler speech on September 12. . . .*

'The Sudeten delegation refused to meet the Czechoslovak authorities as had been arranged on September 13 . . . and presented a new series of demands, which the Czechoslovak government again prepared to accept on the sole condition that a representative of the party come to Prague to discuss how they should be maintained. On the night of September 13, this condition was refused by Henlein. . . .

'With the rejection of the Czechoslovak government's offer on September 13 . . . my functions as a mediator were in fact at an end. . . . *responsibility for the final break must in my opinion rest upon Henlein, Frank, and upon those of their supporters inside and outside the country who were urging them to extreme unconstitutional action. . . . Unless, therefore, the Henlein Frei Corps are deliberately encouraged across the frontier, I have no reason to expect any notable renewal of incidents and disturbances. In these circumstances, the necessity for the presence of state police in these districts would no longer exist.*

At this point, which is well along in the Report, as any reader

who wishes to restudy the document published on September 29 can see, the whole nature and tenor of the argument changes.

Almost directly after the statement that unless the Henlein Frei Corps are deliberately encouraged to cross the frontiers there is no reason to expect further disturbances, Lord Runciman says, 'There is real danger, even the danger of civil war, in the continuance of this state of uncertainty.'

Almost up to the point where he says, 'It has become self-evident to me that these frontier districts... should be given full self-determination at once,' he has been arguing that the whole matter could be settled with justice to the Sudetens, and without violence, if Germany would keep her hands off.

Suddenly, on the basis of nothing contained in the early part of the Report, recommendations are made which embody in substance the Anglo-French proposals presented to the Czechoslovak government on September 19, after Chamberlain's visit to Hitler.

The question arises whether the last part of this Report, which is presented as that of a just and independent investigator, may not have been dictated by Hitler. Why was the Runciman Report not submitted in advance of the visit to Berchtesgaden? I suggest that most of the Report *was* made in advance of the visit to Berchtesgaden, and formed the basis for the exactly contradictory British statement of policy on September 11.

For on what other basis could that policy have been enunciated?

October 3, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

September 26, 1938

President Roosevelt wired to Chancellor Hitler an appeal in the name of the American people not to break off negotiations over the Czechoslovak question. An appeal was sent also to Chamberlain and Daladier and to President Benes. The appeals were based on the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

September 27, 1938

Chancellor Hitler wired to President Roosevelt that the Sudeten Germans had been denied self-determination by the Treaty of Versailles, that the cession of the Sudeten area by Czechoslovakia could no longer be delayed and that he would decline German responsibility if further developments should lead to an outbreak of hostilities. President Roosevelt wired a second appeal to Hitler saying that past errors must not doom the world to war today.

The President's Intervention

THE intervention of the President in the European crisis and the interpretation put upon it, apparently, by the State Department on Monday through Mr. Sumner Welles, have seemingly entangled us in the most fateful move of generations.

Whether we had been so obviously entangled or not, the events which have occurred would drastically have affected our foreign policy and eventually — and I fear quite rapidly — will affect our domestic life.

We are going to have to live by and by in a quite different world from the one that existed prior to Munich, a world differently organized politically and economically.

But because of the intervention we have become — at least in the minds of the peoples of Britain and France — apologists for what has happened, and for what goes on happening with extreme velocity.

It is quite evident from the debate in the British House of Commons that the more intelligent leaders of the Opposition have no illusions about what has happened. Whether it was plotted and planned or whether it was only the inevitable dénouement of a whole long chain of events and circumstances, of past retreats, secret diplomacy, conflicting class interests, external and internal weaknesses of democracies, unpreparedness and misjudgments of the nature of the opponent is historically interesting, but not at the moment of prime importance.

What the events may mean in England was first clearly expressed on Wednesday by Winston Churchill in the House of Commons. I am glad that it was Mr. Churchill who said it, and for two reasons. I do not think it will be possible for anybody to call Mr. Churchill 'Red' or a 'tool of Moscow.' And he has been the Cassandra of Britain for five years, and although Cassandra met a bad end, the important thing about her was that she was right. Mr. Churchill said:

'I foresee and foretell that a policy of submission will carry with it restrictions on the freedom of speech, on the freedom of debate in Parliament, on the public platform or in the press, for it will be said: "We cannot allow the Nazi dictatorship to be criticized by common English politicians." Then, with the press under control, half direct, but more potently direct, with every organ of public opinion doped or chloroformed, we shall be conducted on further stages of our journey.'

In other words, the man who has been British under secretary for war, and in a quarter of a century has held half a dozen ministries, written volumes of history, and prophesied with

unbelievable accuracy^{*} exactly what was going to happen, now says that the 'peace' of Munich may mean not merely the end of Czechoslovakia and the conquest of all Europe east of the Rhine by Germany, but the end of British liberties and the conquest of British opinion by the Nazis.

Our own Administration has stood for the sanctity of treaties, for the non-recognition of territories acquired by force or the threat of it, for peaceful settlement by arbitration among all the interested parties; our President, who in Chicago even went so far as to suggest 'quarantining aggressors,' is now having either to explain or repudiate his own cables, so impulsively sent around the world at the height of the 'crisis,' or add this country to those who tacitly accept the interpretation that what is happening in Czechoslovakia is not a military occupation, but a missionary expedition to spread peace and good will.

This would be too bad. For nothing more quickly demoralizes a nation than the lapse of public intelligence; than its servile acceptance of pious platitudes to mask ghastly realities; than an easy-going willingness to hope for the best, without even the solid foundation of an opinion as to what the best might be.

Both Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier were quick to snap up the President's cables and to give President Roosevelt credit for his 'persuasively phrased' and 'generous contribution,' and, if Mr. Welles's expressed opinion is inspired — and otherwise I cannot understand why he spoke — the President is anxious to get his share of this credit.

It is now known that the British, without consulting Roosevelt, had appealed to Mussolini to intervene, on the morning of September 28. The President's message was formally placed in Mussolini's hands at four o'clock in the afternoon of September 28, but Mr. Welles explains that its contents were known to the Italian government at 9.45 in the morning of September 28.

^{*} See *While England Slept*, a collection of the speeches of Winston Churchill from 1932 to March, 1938. Published by Putnam.

If we lived in a country where there was robust respect for public opinion, I should think that the President would feel compelled to make it clear, either that what resulted at Munich was not at all what was in his mind when he suggested a peace conference in the second cables, or that he definitely accepts the congratulations and thereby justifies the assumption that he regards the Fuehrer's occupation of Czechoslovakia by consent of Britain and France as 'an outstanding historic service to humanity.'

Actually, the President does neither. There is, however, every reason to believe that when the President sent his peace appeal he was convinced — as were most of the rest of us — that war was imminent and that Hitler knew it, and was therefore likely to be amenable to reason and to a considerable retreat from the Godesberg ultimatum.

If, however, the President was not correctly informed; if war was not imminent, and Hitler knew it; if, as now seems quite clear, there was never for a moment serious intention on the part of Britain and France to go to war for Czechoslovakia, then the President, however unwittingly, has become involved by his advisers in a colossal shenanigan.

The intense discomfort of Washington is apparent from the statements that have been issued. Mr. Hull is in favor of passing no judgments; the President asks to be 'excused from an opinion,' and Mr. Welles suggests that an opportunity has arisen for the emergence of a 'new world order based on justice and law.' And, again, there is talk of an international conference.

Washington may have other signs than we do of the emergence of this new world order, but unless and until the American people have been taken in on the secret, I hope very much that there will be no world conference which we attend. I should not like to see the President of the United States travel to an actual or figurative Berchtesgaden.

I fear he might be confronted with an ultimatum to give up the Monroe Doctrine, in return for a 'general appeasement' about colonies; or permit the German Army to occupy Alaska as a bulwark against Communism; or hold a plebiscite in Yorkville on the issue of self-determination!

Meanwhile, I do not see why this country, which is still a great and more or less free people, robust enough to digest the facts of life, should join in the general hush-hush campaign about what has been, and is, going on.

If we do so, I doubt whether our own liberties are going to be secure much longer. It is already 'bad taste,' and even 'slightly hysterical' in some circles, to try to analyze what actually has happened and why. I have no doubt that soon we shall be told that the mere criticism of procedures constitutes an attack on 'peace.' At least a great propaganda for these procedures is already under way, in the name of the 'historic service to humanity' performed last week.

I have an idea that, quite to the contrary, we should think a great deal about what has gone on and is going on. We might learn some very valuable lessons from it — about the risks of unawareness, the danger in the delegation of mandate powers, even to very nice people; about the advisability of governments telling their people the truth; about the insidiousness of encroachments, direct or indirect, upon free speech, and about the mortal danger of internal struggle among people who, in a showdown, share the same ideals and are certainly in the same rocking boat.

October 7, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

March 27, 1938

The Austrian Catholic bishops issued a declaration that urged their flocks to vote for union with Germany in the forthcoming plebiscite and blessed National Socialist activities for preventing the spread of the Communist 'menace.'

April 6, 1938

In Rome, Cardinal Innitzer, Archbishop of Vienna, after a talk with the Pope, issued a declaration in which he said: 'The solemn declaration of March 18 of the Austrian Episcopate was not intended to be, obviously, in approval of anything that was not and is not compatible with God's law and the Catholic Church's freedom and rights. That declaration, moreover, must not be interpreted by the State and party as an obligation of conscience, nor must it be exploited for purposes of propaganda.'

October 8, 1938

In Vienna, 'a mob of irresponsible persons' — so called by the government — attacked the residence of the Roman Catholic cardinal, Theodore Innitzer, on the grounds of St. Stephen's Cathedral, smashing windows and dragging forth and burning some of the furniture. The mêlée apparently was in retaliation for a Catholic Youth demonstration the night before. The cardinal's face was cut by shattered window glass.

October 14, 1938

The Vatican, in its version of recent anti-Catholic riots in Vienna, charged they had been carried out by Nazis without provocation and with police connivance.

The Case of Cardinal Innitzer

THE case of Theodore Cardinal Innitzer is of the greatest significance, because its sensational aspects and the political background of the cardinal make clear what is the essential struggle in the Third Reich.

As a citizen, Cardinal Innitzer was National Socialist. He went so far as to advise his flock to vote for union with Germany in the plebiscite which ratified the *fait accompli* of the German conquest of Austria, secured, as was the conquest of Czechoslovakia, by the threat of invasion.

He told his people that one could not disregard ties of blood. He has therefore shown himself clearly willing to render unto Caesar, and in full, the things that are Caesar's.

But the modern Caesars recognize no limitations whatsoever to any renderings, whether of the human body, soul or spirit. National Socialism, like Communism, is a secular religion. Unless these two movements are thus understood, nothing about them is understood. The first tenet of both of them is a demand for the breaking of the First Commandment: 'Thou shalt have no other gods before me.'

And this is why the most formidable opposition to both Communism and National Socialism inside and outside the countries that they rule today comes from the religious.

It may be possible to harmonize Communism or National Socialism with some intellectually supportable view of economics, or forms of state administration and structure, or system of social organization.

It is absolutely impossible to harmonize either of them with either the Old Testament or the New.

In Germany, members of every previous political credo have thrown in their lot with the Nazis without any serious inner struggle. But the Christian Church, and with it millions of

Christians, maintains an obduracy which neither terror nor self-interest nor offers of superficial compromise have been able to break.

To others, some of the teachings of Naziism may be silly or fanatical, or transitory phenomena to be treated lightly. But to the Christian conscience they are sinful. And that the conviction of sin has not disappeared from a large agnostic world is testified to by the most heroic struggle going on, not against Caesar but for God.

Is it not important that the leader of the German Confessional Church, Pastor Niemöller, and the prince of the Catholic Church in Vienna, Cardinal Innitzer, were both, at the outset, friendly to the political and economic ideas of National Socialism and have become its most intractable enemies?

The attitude of Stalin, and before him Lenin, to Christianity and the attitude of Hitler are very different. Communism is an open foe of Christianity. Time and again Lenin in his writings has emphasized that Marxism is incompatible with Christianity.

In Russia a prodigious propaganda against religion goes on unceasingly. All churchgoers are ousted from administrative posts and from the teaching profession. No party member may be a church member. The Church has been virulently and terroristically persecuted.

On the other hand, Russian Communism makes no attempt to corrupt the Church. Early in the Soviet régime there was a movement to establish what was called 'the Living Church.' It held a congress in Moscow in 1922, but the whole idea was later abandoned.

Lenin regarded the Church as a superstition and an instrument of the owning classes, and believed that Communism and rationalism would destroy it of themselves. Neither he nor any of his followers have ever tried to hang the hammer and sickle above the altar. And the Church in Russia survives, in an amazing

fashion, on the search of the 'freed' masses after the comforts of the Christian faith.

Hitler is not a rationalist. He has called himself an 'inspired somnambulist,' and he is full of intuition and a certain susceptibility to mysticism.

He was born a Catholic, but he is neither Catholic nor Christian, and once confessed to an acquaintance of mine, 'I am all pagan.'

Nevertheless, National Socialism asserts the existence of God, and Hitler believes that the belief in God is a force which can be exploited by Naziism. He has a strong sense of the dark, emotional forces in men — if he has ever read the late D. H. Lawrence he will have understood him thoroughly.

It is the sense of these forces which makes him a far greater demagogue than Lenin ever was, which makes National Socialism a far more dangerous movement than Communism ever was, and which makes Hitler anxious not to destroy religion but to capture it. He does put the swastika above the altar. And he therefore is the more dangerous enemy of Christianity and of all religion. God is useful, if he is subordinated to the Nazis' own secular religion of race and nationhood. Hitler does not accept the sovereignty of God; never could a Nazi national hymn end with the words, 'Protect us by Thy might, great God, our King.'

The ethos of Naziism is, in itself, not in any other conception whatsoever. And that self is consciously amoral. Its strength is founded on armed idolatry, and though Hitler wants to make his people 'prosperous, free and strong,' there is not in a single one of his published speeches the slightest indication that he wants to make them righteous.

Those who have made the deepest, most careful studies of National Socialism are aware that it is here that National Socialism is most intransigently at war with western civilization,

which is founded on Judaeo-Greek-Roman and Christian culture.*

Hitler likes to compare himself to Cromwell. But it is a mistake to consider the analogy for an instant. Cromwell was a passionate Christian whose last prayer was, 'Make the name of Christ glorious in the world!' Hitler seeks to capitalize, against the Catholic Church, the anti-clerical feeling, and the old movement to cut the Church loose from Rome, but his attitude toward the Protestants, who did that after Luther, and who in Germany have been a truly national church, reveals that his hostility is not toward the form of church organization but to Christianity as such. He wishes none of the brakes implicit in the Christian conception to be exercised over his totalitarian herd.

Two great poets, decades before the outbreak of the Russian and Nazi revolutions, prophesied them and their effects on the whole Christian structure of ethics and morality.

What Dostoevsky did for the Russians in 'The Possessed' Heine did in a monograph on Germany over a hundred years ago.

'It is the greatest merit of Christianity,' he writes, 'to have assuaged the joy of the German in brutal bellicosity, but... when, one day, the Cross of Christ is broken the savagery of the old warriors, the wild berserker wrath, will break forth anew in all the barbaric fury of which our Nordic poets tell in song and saga. Even today the talisman of Christianity has begun to rot, and the day will come when its power will piteously collapse. Then will the old stone gods arise from the accumulated rubbish of the past.... When that day comes... take good care, Frenchmen, and do not interfere with those affairs which we are settling among ourselves. Take care neither to fan the fire nor quench it.... Do not laugh at my advice... the advice of a dreamer....

* For instance, F. A. Voigt, diplomatic correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, for many years its correspondent in Berlin, who has as complete a knowledge of post-war Germany as any English-speaking man alive, author of *Unto Caesar*. Constable, 1938.

German thunder is admittedly German: it is not very agile . . . but it will come one day, and . . . you will hear an explosion such as has never yet occurred in the history of the world.

'The hour will come when, like spectators in an amphitheater, the nations will crowd around Germany to watch the great tourney. I warn you, Frenchmen, keep quiet, and above all do not applaud. . . . Take care! I wish you well, and for that reason I tell you bitter truths. . . . You have more to fear from a liberated Germany than from the entire Holy Alliance, with all its Croats and Cossacks. . . . Never disarm.'

Heine's admonitions to western civilization need to be heeded today by this country as well as the French. 'Do not interfere. . . . Never disarm.' . . .

October 17, 1938

America Faces Tomorrow's World

PEOPLE have recently called my attention to the fate of a well-known and rather disagreeable lady named Cassandra, who, having predicted the worst, eventually met a bad end. But I would reply to those who dislike the observation of disagreeable facts in the words of Pericles, who uttered them, you will remember, in a funeral oration for war victims, on the Causes of Athenian Greatness: 'Happiness is freedom, and freedom is courage.'

The measure of optimism with which America can face tomorrow's world *may* be the measure of her ignorance. If it is, then like Athens we may expect to fall into the slavery of a new Sparta. But if our courage is equal to our native love of freedom, then we may escape that fate, and not only escape it but have a new birth of freedom, and in that new birth give hope, as once we did, to all the world.

I am aware that in uttering 'freedom' I am using an almost forgotten, almost forbidden word. Other words have come to

take its place: democracy; equality; security; social justice; efficiency: these are the current words.

It has a quaint, old-fashioned ring, the word 'freedom.' But if I use it now, I use it in the firm faith that tomorrow — in some tomorrow — that word will be spoken again, with a passion that has not inflamed it for a century.

It is muttered today, among millions who have lost it and realize too late how dear it was. Under the iron heel of miasmatic despotisms, in which neighbors spy on neighbors, in which men and women disappear for reasons never known, in which children march in uniform, and masses chant in drilled hosannas, in which new altars are erected for enforced worship, under a hooked cross or a crossed hammer and sickle, in which journalists are all press agents and press agents all propagandists, where even the lover's passion is not safe from the interference of the State, a word is whispered . . . it passes from mouth to mouth, muttered out of the side of drawn lips . . . it flashes through a brain, still functioning behind an outstretched arm. And that word is not Democracy! It is not even Truth, or Justice, or Socialism. It is Svoboda! Liberta! Freiheit! — Freedom.

And it is the great American word. Recently I have been reading again some of our great state papers. It struck me as interesting that the word 'democracy' never occurs in either the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution of the United States.

We are not a free people because we are democratic. We are a democratic people because we were born free. Out of freedom, democracy develops naturally. Out of democracy, and in its name, anything may develop, even despotism.

If I seek to revive this word in disrepute, this great American word 'freedom,' it is because I observe that 'democracy' is suffering assaults and defeats on all fronts. The word has become the very symbol of weakness. It covers so many conceptions of

life and society that it has become a neutral word, almost a neuter word, and democracy a sort of no-man's-land, between more aggressive and seemingly vigorous forms of social existence. Once it was defined by Lincoln as government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Now, it apparently becomes corrupted into just one of the trilogy, government *for* the people, and every despot under the sun claims he has a mandate from the people to rule *for* them, and calls himself, therefore, a democrat. We are told that Communism is administered in behalf of the proletariat, and that they being most numerous are the people, hence Russia is a democracy. Hitler and Mussolini claim to head democracies because at periodic intervals their actions are ratified by plebiscites, and because both systems depend on mass support.

The leading positive connotation of the word today is egalitarianism, a form of government in which all are equal, and, particularly, economically equal — economically leveled. But on that ground, present-day Germany, Italy and Russia are all far more democratic than the United States, Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries or France. The citizens of the former are more economically equal than those of the latter. I will give you a definition of these great totalitarian states that will hold water, however you look at it. They are democracies without freedom! They are mass states, directed by mass organization and mass propaganda and enjoying mass support. They are democracies of a sort, even though they are also despotisms. And I warn you that they are revolutionary states. They represent the revolution of the twentieth century.

This revolution, which, wherever it occurs, develops the same pattern — collectivism, managed and dominated by a monolithic political party — has not just happened. It has social and historical reasons for coming into being. I would put first among them the awakening of the most poor and insecure to the

realization that their political liberties could be used to force the richer members of the community to make economic concessions, as the rich in the past have used their political power to sanction exploitation.

The first crime against freedom came with the machine, with large-scale production, with, therefore, work for wages. In the days of crafts and small industries, the workman was a man who owned his own tools and performed his work for a price which he, as an individual, could set. He could save, and there were numerous ways in which he could invest his money with a chance of winning security for the future. He could, for instance, set himself up in a small business, and by thrift and accumulated savings increase and prosper. But with large-scale machine industry the numbers of such men diminished. Business required larger and larger amounts of capital, and depended increasingly on credit, which was available only to those who already had large accumulations. Most men worked for such large businesses or organizations, and their work was treated as a commodity, like any other commodity, determined by the market. If the market was good, a man's work was wanted; if the market declined, his work was rejected, and from one day to another, from one hour to another, he could be dropped into worklessness.

Now, the very idea of freedom rests on a profound respect for humanity. It rests in a profound conception of human dignity. It rests in the belief in human brotherhood. It is deeply religious, or, if you prefer, ethical and moral in its basis. The idea of freedom derives from the conception of man as the child of God, as enormously valuable, as a person, as a human soul. And a man's work, or a woman's, is the very essence of his personality. We actually create ourselves through what we do. The skills which we develop under the discipline of work actually add to our stature as human beings. Work is life, and work is growth.

To be unemployed is to rust, to have one's ego humiliated, to be cut off from the exercise of generosity, to be isolated, to be damned. And yet work, the very expression of the personality and the source of life itself, was treated as though it were a *thing*, to be bought and sold according to the market price of the day.

The advent of the machine would, in any case, have wrought a revolution in the world of work. For the workman often became a mere cog in a vast process. You can go into any factory and watch a man do nothing for six or seven hours a day except put rings on pistons as they move past on a never-pausing belt. Yet that too could be compensated for, if only the imagination were awakened to see that little process as part of something quite miraculous, which brings comfort and even luxury to millions — as part of a communal work endeavor.

But the technological revolution, accompanied by the damnable idea of work as a commodity, detached, as it were, from the worker himself, resulted in two things: enormous insecurity for the worker, and a pernicious but inevitable attitude toward work itself — an attitude of irresponsibility, lack of pride in work, lack of joy in work. The worker himself adopted the attitude of the employer — why should he not? If work was a *thing*, determined by the market, then his business was the business of all traders — to get as much as he could for as little as he could give. Where once the ancient guilds of workers took upon themselves responsibility for the quality of workmanship of their numbers, the modern trade union confines itself exclusively to bargaining for a price for this commodity, which is men's hands and brains, and blood, and food, and the lives of their children.

Where once there was joy and community in work, sullenness and hostility replaced it. And the class conflict arose, and in some countries became so acute that a deadlock was reached, between men bargaining for the commodity of their lives and the employers and managers, whose willingness to undertake heavy

responsibilities and risks depends upon the possibility of operating at *some* profit. When many such deadlocks become general, then there is economic breakdown, and when such economic breakdowns occur in too rapid succession, the people scream for someone to take the responsibility and restore order.

And they turn to the government — that is to say to the State. The State becomes one great work monopoly. The worker must work at what he is told, in the way he is told, or he is thrown into prison. Since you cannot run a great monopoly of life and industry by the votes of its members, the citizen loses all his political rights.

Even his religious life, even his love life is interfered with. For if a man has a concept of God, he may remember that he is a man, and an individual. So the State tries to gather up into itself those dangerous religious and aesthetic impulses, that yearning after beauty, that picture that a man has of something better than himself, on which to pattern his life and lend meaning to it. The boss becomes God, too, and his subjects are trained in all the ritual of idolatry.

Such a structure, like all forms of slavery and vassalage, rests on force; force is of its very nature, and it is of its very nature that it be organized like an army, and as an army must go forth to conquer. People can only be held together in this sort of rigid unity, if they are held together *against* something. This sort of state requires a perennial enemy. First, the bourgeoisie — in Russia — or the Jews, in Germany. But the internal enemies are soon eliminated, by terror. Then one must seek new ones — internally or externally. And the more powerful and efficient of these states, Italy, Germany and Japan, are seeking them externally, and with a common tactic; operating in spheres of influence agreed upon between them, they today menace the whole world.

Japan's aims do not stop short of all Asia, Germany's aims do

not stop short of all Europe, and with the conquest of Czechoslovakia she has put herself in the position which Bismarck described when he said, 'Who is master of Prague is master of Europe.' For the time being, at least, Hitler dictates the policy of London and Paris, without a war, by the very fear of war. And in order to save something for themselves, it is possible that the last of the big European democracies will attempt to divert the attention of Germany and Italy toward another place, and that other place is the western hemisphere.

The first menace which threatens us from this source is the menace of our own internal discontent, which will be, and is being, played upon. There is a hypnotic quality about success. I have observed that in the last month the friends of Naziism have grown greatly in this country. I observe that it has become fashionable in some circles to begin to observe a Jewish menace and an apprehension of Communism. What a comfort these circles are to those who would divide our house against itself, the more easily to render it vulnerable! I observe amongst our workers a terrible fear that the same society that in England and France flirted with the Fascists to their countries' undoing in humiliating defeat is also sympathetic to them here, and that this apprehension drives the workers, too, to more extreme positions.

But restore and make concrete America's own great revolutionary tradition, and this fear will be replaced with courage and action, and this courage and action will give hope and faith to millions, not only here but throughout the earth! The way toward our own internal unity is implicit in the American philosophy, to which, too long, we have been untrue. The worker must be restored to his prestige and self-respect as an individual. And the only way to do that is to give him a definite stake in the industry in which he works, to make him again a man who works for himself and for his family, instead of for the boss, with a

definite, *legal* right to a *legal* share of the profits which his work produces. For this country must radically strengthen its defenses, and greatly increase its production, if we are to survive in the next years, and unless we choose to do this by slavery we must do it with the ardent collaboration of free men, whose work is done freely, competently, joyfully and pridefully, in the knowledge that the profits of that work will be justly distributed to those who create them. We must end the conception of work as a commodity and establish it for what it is, a great individual and co-operative effort in behalf of a free people and a free community, to be done with ardor and with love, in the service of a great ideal.

That nation, those people, who first make freedom real again, translating the word into a way of life, will make the great *moral* revolution, founded on respect for the individual, honor for the personality, and individual and social responsibility. And whatever may be the revolution of today, that, I am sure, is the revolution of the future.

October 27, 1938

[A speech delivered at the New York Herald Tribune Forum.]

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

October 29, 1938

GERMANY DEPORTS JEWS TO POLAND; SEIZES THOUSANDS — Police Carry Out Nation-Wide Raids on Basis of Warsaw Passport Validating Law — POLES REPORT SOLUTION — Britain Speeds Aid to Refugees — Decides to Open Palestine — Gives Visas to Ex-Sudetens.

Safe for Lunacy!

OUR Utopias become more and more modest, despite the highly painted illusions of universal peace and universal security.

We say wistfully, 'I hope, before I die, that I will once more live in a world that is not plainly a lunatic asylum.' We cling desperately to a formula as simple as the one that two and two make four, saying, 'For the sake of my sanity, I must insist, at least to myself, that two and two do not make five.'

Far from hoping that the world in our times will be made safe for democracy, we confine even our prayers to the hope that it may be made tolerably safe for a modicum of human decency, that public action may in some remote way correspond to the private behavior of halfway civilized human beings.

This is apropos the news in Saturday morning's papers that the German government is contributing to the stability, peace and progress of the world by starting to send several thousand Polish Jews — Jews with Polish passports — back to Poland, equipped with a railroad ticket and ten marks.

Poland itself, however, already has some three million Jews and is beseeching the Évian Committee to undertake some definite

program for resettling a part of its crowded and deeply impoverished population in other parts of the world.

The same papers tell us that three thousand former citizens of the Sudeten area of Czechoslovakia must immediately be deported to find new existence elsewhere.

Isn't it curious that poor, tight little Czechoslovakia could afford the means by which they might live, whereas this new great economic complex, so powerful and so successful, can tolerate neither their views nor their work activities?

The British legation in Prague sits up half the night, it is said, stamping visas to permit refugees to enter Britain, which already has a huge unemployment problem.

The United States government formally protested, nearly a month ago, the decision of the Italian government to drive two hundred American citizens of Jewish blood out of Italy, where they are residents.

So far the protest has been recognized — after ten days' delay — but nothing has been done.

I doubt whether, since the pressure on Europe by Asia in the fourth and fifth centuries, there has ever been such a vast migration of peoples as we have seen since the war. Russians, Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians, Assyrians, Germans, Austrians — capitalists and proletarians, monarchists, republicans, Communists, conservatives, Catholics, liberals, Christians and Jews — above all Jews, the world's perennial scapegoats — turned loose upon a disorganized world, the further to disorganize it — four million or five million of them by now — and all turned loose, Heaven help us, in the name of some political formula or other which promises a 'solution' — a solution of the Jewish problem, of some national problem, of some 'scientific' problem!

Human decency becomes exploited to the utmost in those areas of the earth where there is still some vestige of regard for human life, some quixotic and old-fashioned conscience about human justice.

If those areas were not still there to exploit, the entire program of shoving real or artificial problems across the border would fail utterly and the world would blow up in chaos.

This country might, for instance, decide to join the movement. How simple! There are in America, at present, some eight hundred thousand Italians and Germans — the number is almost equal — who live and work here and have never even taken out first papers.

Why not put them on boats, with fifty cents in their pockets, and send them home, keeping here whatever they may have accumulated in investments or savings?

That would, no doubt, contribute to the solution of our own unemployment problem and be of immeasurable benefit to Italy and to Germany!

Add the Poles and the Irish and the Hungarians, Rumanians and Yugoslavs. Add the Negroes. Leave the Dutch and the Anglo-Saxons and the French. They got here first. And, of course, make the Indians the new 'élite.' They were here longest. Then we would have prosperity and no more problems. And the world, of course, would be a paradise.

There is, of course, a population problem. Nature will solve it, if we go on as we are going in the western world. For the mental characteristic of this glorious age is despair and disillusionment, and the entire white population of the earth is diminishing rapidly, with every western country showing a waning surplus of births over deaths.

Not, for the moment, I believe, in Germany, but definitely in Italy, where not all the bachelor taxes and propaganda about the joys of large families persuade mothers that they will bear and breed happy children. There was an upcurve in the first years of Fascism. It soon reversed itself.

The Jewish race, one of the oldest and most vigorous, was already perishing in pre-Hitler Germany.

But granted a population problem. It happens that most of the science, technology and industry of this whole globe is concentrated in Europe and North America, and that the nineteenth century under the impetus of these forces saw a prodigious and entirely unprecedented increase of population in these parts of the world.

Much of the rest of the earth suffers from underpopulation, much of it is totally undeveloped. To mine untapped sources of wealth, to drain marshes, to irrigate deserts, to create new civilized populations of workers and consumers of industrial products, to expand this too small, too tight area of civilization, to undertake new pioneering adventures of hands and brains, is the task of civilized western men.

For that people are needed. Human hands, skill, organizing ability, planning and special training. But while wealth accumulates — in paper, in banks — or is buried, symbolically, as gold, in Kentucky, men decay.

For a great co-operative and modern pioneering, its object to create and distribute more wealth over a larger area and on a larger scale, capital is needed. Money. There is no money, people say.

Meanwhile the world will spend this year eighteen thousand million dollars for armaments. Armaments that will not feed a mouth, or shelter a child, or put a coat on a man's back or a dress on a girl's, and that will be outmoded tomorrow. In 1932 the world spent less than four billion. The sum has more than quadrupled, and still it is not enough! We must spend more.

Yes, we must, if the world is to go on being made safe for lunacy.

October 31, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

November 7, 1938

Ernst vom Rath, third secretary of the German embassy in Paris, was fatally shot there by Herschel Grynzspan, seventeen, a German-born Polish emigrant of Jewish extraction. Anti-Jewish riots broke out in Berlin when news of vom Rath's death was announced.

November 10, 1938

Anti-Jewish violence spread throughout Germany. In Berlin, Vienna and other cities synagogues were set on fire or wrecked. Jewish shops were robbed and Jewish persons were beaten.

November 12, 1938

The German government decreed a fine of a billion marks on Jews. All damage inflicted on Jewish business and homes by the wrecking, looting and incendiarism must be repaired immediately by Jewish owners at their own cost.

November 14, 1938

In Germany, the minister of education issued telegraphic orders barring Jews from all high schools and universities, effective immediately.

November 15, 1938

In Germany, Economics Minister Walther Funk announced that all Jewish property would be 'transferred to German hands,' expropriated, in return for indemnification in 'annuity bonds.' He stated that the total registered Jewish property (property above 5000 marks) amounted to 7,000,000,000 marks and that 2,000,000,000 of it had already been 'Aryanized.'

Herschel Grynzspan

A WEEK ago today an anaemic-looking boy with brooding black eyes walked quietly into the German embassy in the rue de Lille in Paris, asked to see the ambassador, was shown into the office of the third secretary, Herr vom Rath, and shot him. Herr vom Rath died on Wednesday.

I want to talk about that boy. I feel as though I knew him, for in the past five years I have met so many whose story is the same — the same except for this unique desperate act. Herschel Grynzspan was one of the hundreds of thousands of refugees whom the terror east of the Rhine has turned loose in the world. His permit to stay in Paris had expired. He could not leave France, for no country would take him in. He could not work because no country would give him a work permit. So he moved about, hoping he would not be picked up and deported, only to be deported again, and yet again. Sometimes he found a bed with another refugee. Sometimes he huddled away from the wind under the bridges of the Seine. He got letters from his father, who was in Hanover, in Germany. His father was all right. He still had a little tailoring shop and managed honorably to earn enough for food and shelter. Maybe he would have sent his son money, but he was not allowed to send any out of Germany. Herschel read the newspapers, and all that he could read filled him with dark anxiety and wild despair. He read how men, women and children, driven out of the Sudetenland by a conquering army — conquering with the consent of Great Britain and France — had been forced to cross the border into Czechoslovakia on their hands and knees — and then had been ordered out of that dismembered country, that, shorn of her richest lands and factories, did not know how to feed the mouths that were left.

He read that Jewish children had been stood on platforms in

front of classes of German children and had had their features pointed to and described by the teacher as marks of a criminal race. He read that men and women of his race, amongst them scholars and a general decorated for his bravery, had been forced to wash the streets, while the mob laughed. There were men of his race whom he had been taught to venerate — scientists and educators and scholars who once had been honored by their country. He read that they had been driven from their posts. He heard that the Nazi government had started all this because they said the Jews had made them lose the World War. But Herschel had not even been born when the World War ended. He was seventeen years old.

Herschel had a pistol. I don't know why he had it. Maybe he had bought it somewhere thinking to use it on himself, if the worst came to the worst. Thousands of men and women of his race had killed themselves in the last years, rather than live like hunted animals. Still, he lived on. Then, a few days ago, he got a letter from his father. His father told him that he had been summoned from his bed, and herded with thousands of others into a train of box cars, and shipped over the border, into Poland. He had not been allowed to take any of his meager savings with him. Just fifty cents. 'I am penniless,' he wrote to his son.

This was the end. Herschel fingered his pistol and thought: 'Why doesn't someone *do* something! Why must we be chased around the earth like animals!' Herschel was wrong. Animals are not chased around the world like this. In every country there are societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals. But there are none for the prevention of cruelty to people. Herschel thought of the people responsible for this terror. Right in Paris were some, who were the official representatives of these responsible people. Maybe he thought that assassination is an honorable profession in these days. He knew, no doubt, that the youths who murdered the Austrian Chancellor Dollfuss are heroes in

Nazi Germany, as are the murderers of Rathenau. Maybe he remembered that only four years ago the Nazi Leader himself had caused scores of men to be assassinated without a trial, and had justified it simply by saying that he was the law. And so Herschel walked into the German embassy and shot Herr vom Rath. Herschel made no attempt to escape. Escape was out of the question anyhow.

Herr vom Rath died on Wednesday. And on Thursday every Jew in Germany was held responsible for this boy's deed. In every city an organized and methodical mob was turned loose on the Jewish population. Synagogues were burned; shops were gutted and sometimes looted. At least four people were done to death. Many, many more were beaten. Scores killed themselves. In cold blood, the German government imposed a fine of four hundred million dollars on the entire Jewish community, and followed it by decrees which mean total ruin for all of them. A horrified world was stunned. In the United States nearly every newspaper protested. A former governor, Alfred Smith, and the recent Republican candidate for New York State governor, Thomas Dewey, protested with unusual eloquence.

But in Paris, a boy who had hoped to make some gesture of protest which would call attention to the wrongs done his race burst into hysterical sobs. Up to then he had been apathetic. He had been prepared to pay for his deed with his own life. Now he realized that half a million of his fellows had been sentenced to extinction on the excuse of his deed.

I am speaking of this boy. Soon he will go on trial. The news is that on top of all this terror, this horror, one more must pay. They say he will go to the guillotine, without a trial by jury, without the rights that any common murderer has.

The world has endured for five years unheard-of things. The fortunes of American citizens have been all but confiscated in Germany. We have protested, and no attention has been paid.

What could we do? Some weeks ago two hundred American citizens of Jewish blood were ordered to close their businesses and depart from Italy as undesirable aliens. Our State Department protested, but the protest has been all but ignored. What could we do? Every country in the world has had a refugee problem to add to all its others, as a result of a system which cares nothing for what happens to other countries, and we among them. What could we do?

We could, of course, do many things. There are half a million non-naturalized Germans in the United States, and as many Italians. We might have loaded them on boats, confiscated their property and shipped them home. There are hundreds of thousands of dollars in German and Italian fortunes in this country. We might have confiscated them as reprisals for the confiscated fortunes of American citizens and for unpaid debts. Why don't we do it? We don't do it because it isn't, according to our standards, decent. We don't do it because we refuse to hold people responsible for crimes that others commit. We don't do it because our sense of justice is still too strong to answer terror with terror. We don't do it because we do not want to add to the hatred and chaos which are already making this world intolerable. We fear that violence breeding violence will destroy us all, in the long run.

When the dictators commit what to the rest of the world are crimes, they say there is a higher justice — they claim the justification of national necessity and emergency. We do not think that such justice is higher. We think it low and cannot therefore answer it in its own language.

But is there not a higher justice in the case of Herschel Grynzspan, seventeen years old? Is there not a higher justice that says that this deed has been expiated with four hundred million dollars and half a million existences, with beatings, and burnings, and deaths, and suicides? Must the nation, whose Zola defended

Dreyfus until the world rang with it, cut off the head of one more Jew without giving him an open trial?

Who is on trial in this case? I say we are all on trial. I say the Christian world is on trial. I say the men of Munich are on trial, who signed a pact without one word of protection for helpless minorities. Whether Herschel Grynzspan lives or not won't matter much to Herschel. He was prepared to die when he fired those shots. His young life was already ruined. Since then his heart has been broken into bits by the results of his deed.

They say a man is entitled to trial by a jury of his peers, and a man's kinsmen rally around him, when he is in trouble. But no kinsman of Herschel's can defend him. No man of his race, anywhere in the world, can defend him. The Nazi government has announced that if any Jews, anywhere in the world, protest at anything that is happening, further oppressive measures will be taken. They are holding every Jew in Germany as a hostage.

Therefore, we who are not Jews must speak, speak our sorrow and indignation and disgust in so many voices that they will be heard. This boy has become a symbol, and the responsibility for his deed must be shared by those who caused it.

November 14, 1938

[A broadcast given on the General Electric Program.]

Nothing 'Singular' About It

THE German government, in recalling the ambassador to Washington, Doctor Dieckhoff, says that he is recalled in order to 'inform Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop in detail regarding public sentiment in the United States and the *singular* attitude toward domestic events in Germany manifested in various declarations by President Roosevelt and other important United States personalities.'

It is to be hoped that Doctor Dieckhoff will inform Mr. Ribben-

trop that there is nothing at all 'singular' in the attitude of President Roosevelt, but that on the contrary the President is acting in line with a tradition which has been consistent since the beginning of this republic.

John Quincy Adams said in 1791: 'The principle that a whole nation has the right to do whatever it pleases cannot in any sense whatever be admitted as true. The eternal and immutable laws of justice and of morality are paramount to all human legislation.'

Daniel Webster said on November 7, 1849, 'There is something on earth greater than arbitrary or despotic power, and that is the aroused indignation of the civilized world.'

In 1840 our minister to Turkey, David Porter, was instructed to make strong representations to the Turkish ruler in protest against atrocities against Jews in Damascus and Rhodes, upon the express direction of President Van Buren.

In 1878 the United States co-operated with the great powers at the Congress of Berlin to obtain full and equal rights for the Jews in the Balkans. In this they were supported by the president of the Congress, the great German statesman Bismarck, who declared that the clauses granting religious liberty and protecting minorities 'have in view an advance in civilization against which doubtless no cabinet will have objections in principle. The assent of Germany is always given to every motion favorable to religious liberty.'

In 1881 Secretary of State James G. Blaine instructed James Russell Lowell, United States minister at London, to seek English co-operation in a joint diplomatic move on behalf of the Jews in Russia.

In 1902 Secretary of State John Hay protested to the Rumanian government at the express direction of President Theodore Roosevelt. The protest included these words: 'The United States offers asylum to the oppressed of all lands. But its sympathy with them in no wise impairs its just liberty and right to

weigh the acts of the oppressor in the light of their effects upon this country, and to judge accordingly.'

In 1903, after the Kishineff massacre in Russia, President Roosevelt forwarded to the Tsar of Russia a petition of protest signed by a vast number of American citizens and accompanied it with the statement, 'In any proper way by which beneficial action may be taken, it will be taken, to show the sincerity of the historic American position of treating each man on his merits without the least reference to his creed, his race or his birthplace.'

In 1911 President Taft abrogated the Treaty of 1832 with Russia because of the Russian government's maltreatment of the Jews. The immediate cause was the refusal of the Russian government to recognize the passports of American citizens who were Jews.

In 1915 the United States government officially interceded in behalf of the persecuted Christians in Armenia. Representations were made to the Turkish government, successively, by Secretaries of State Bryan and Lansing and Acting Secretary of State Polk. In this case, it was Russia who asked for American intervention, 'to prevent the massacre of non-combatant Armenians in Turkish territory.'

One provision of the Peace Conference in 1919 that President Wilson was instrumental in obtaining was the adoption of treaties guaranteeing minority rights, including the protection of religious minorities. Most notable of these was the Polish minorities treaty, which protected the civil, political and religious rights of all minority groups in such newly created states as Poland.

It was declared in this treaty that infractions of the rights of racial, religious or linguistic minorities 'constitute obligations of international concern.'

At the Peace Conference Germany gave an express pledge to the United States that she would guarantee protection of her own religious and racial minorities on the same basis as that estab-

lished for the minorities of Poland. Hence, the United States is not limited to general consideration of humanity and mere intercession in connection with Germany's treatment of her racial, religious or linguistic minorities.

And in 1923 Germany herself successfully invoked the jurisdiction of the World Court to enforce these very articles against Poland for her infringement of the rights of Germans.

The German government has itself, on occasion, 'intervened' to protest against persecution in other countries. In October 1915 the German ambassador at Constantinople delivered a note to the Turkish minister of foreign affairs saying: 'The German embassy is constrained to remonstrate once more upon those horrible deeds and to decline any responsibility for the consequences they may involve . . . all the more because Germany, as a friendly power, allied to Turkey, may be considered to have approved or even instigated their acts of violence.'

The United States government has shown enormous patience in dealing with Nazi activities in this country.

In September 1937, at an extraordinary meeting in Stuttgart, the German foreign minister, Baron von Neurath, asserted it as a principle of German policy that Germans in other countries, including the United States, would act as agents of the German government. Ernst Bohle, 'leader' of the Nazi foreign organization, an official government instrument, said, 'Whoever lives abroad as a German business man is working not only for himself but primarily in the service of the German fatherland.'

This statement was followed by Nazi rallies organized by Germans throughout the United States. The United States government has never recognized the right of a foreign government to organize propaganda on our soil. In August 1935 we threatened to break off diplomatic relations with Russia, as a result of the meeting of the Comintern.

The United States has never claimed the privilege of setting up

groups inside Germany or Russia to try to change the forms of government of those countries, but the German and Russian governments are both doing that on this soil, under — save the mark! — the claim of free speech.

Intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries is a direct revolutionary instrument of Nazi policy. It has gone so far as to attempt to interfere with the course of justice in France, to warn Great Britain publicly against the danger of having Duff Cooper, Winston Churchill or Anthony Eden as prime minister, to suggest a racial policy to Italy and to attempt to dictate the foreign and domestic policies of all the small neighboring countries.

What it is doing has no precedent in any previous German policy, but President Roosevelt's action has the precedent of our whole history.

November 21, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

November 16, 1938

FRANCE AND REICH NEAR AN ACCORD

New York Times

December 2, 1938

RIBBENTROP WILL GO TO PARIS ON MONDAY —
Reich Foreign Minister to Sign 'No-War' Pact with
France.

New York Times

December 5, 1938

REICH IS GRATIFIED BY FRENCH ACCORD — Agree-
ment Held Attainment of Goal that Has Animated
Foreign Policy for Years — BUT AXIS STILL DOMI-
NATES — Press Stresses Ribbentrop's Visit to Paris
— Has the Full Consent of Rome Régime.

New York Times

December 7, 1938

FRANCE AND GERMANY ADOPT A 'GOOD-NEIGHBOR'
POLICY: SIGN NEW NON-WAR TREATY — REICH
CONCILIATORY — Ribbentrop Hints Berlin Would
Drop Colonial Demands on Paris — SEEKS FOOD
STOCK IN EAST — Assures Bonnet Germans are
Cold to Italian Land Claims — He is Moderate on
Spain.

More 'Peace'

IN THE Year of Our Disgrace, 1919, there was signed in the great hall of Versailles, near Paris, a 'Peace Treaty.' It was signed in an atmosphere of hatred, cupidity and revenge. It was a betrayal of the principles and ideals for which millions of the best and bravest youth of the world had spilled their blood and given up their lives. The only justification that could be advanced for it

was that it followed four terrible years of war and incorporated in itself the results of four years of battle, blood and hate.

But this must also be said: Hardly was the ink dry upon it when the clear-eyed, the just and the decent in all countries denounced it.

John Maynard Keynes denounced its economic provisions in a book that swept the world. Liberal journalists in America, who had supported Wilson, branded it as a betrayal of his Fourteen Points. There sprang up spontaneously friends of defeated Germany. The United States of America never ratified it. And the League, created along with the treaty, contained provisions for its amendment. Slowly but certainly it began to be amended.

Before the Nazi revolution in Germany had ever broken out, the Treaty of Versailles was a dead document. It was dead not only because Germany had grown stronger; it was dead not only because of German protests; it was dead by the vote of the world's conscience, and the world's common sense.

It was not worse than many other treaties. It was not worse, for instance — no, it was not so bad — as the treaty that a victorious Germany had imposed upon Russia in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

The world said, 'Well, it was the war.' The world said, 'Well, it was only a continuation of the war.' The peoples of the world wanted peace. They still want it.

But we learned at Versailles that 'peace' is more than a word. Peace is a positive condition of affairs. It is the recognition of mutuality of interest, as between peoples. It presumes the common acceptance of certain rules of behavior. It implies the end of terror and fear in common respect for certain common principles. It is, for instance, such a state of affairs as has existed between this country and Canada for over a hundred years.

A one-way peace, dictated and enforced, can last only until the dictated-to becomes strong enough to overthrow it. If the

dictator is strong enough, such a state of enforced warlessness may last for many decades. But it is not peace. It is inevitably the prelude to war.

What was signed at Munich was not a peace, but a desperate capitulation. What was signed at Paris yesterday was not a peace, but a desperate armistice.

Nobody will doubt that pacific relations between France and Germany are a *sine qua non* for the peace of Europe. Nobody will doubt that an effort 'to assure developments in this sense' ought to be the goal of a common effort. Everyone would greet a definitive settlement forever of all border disputes between the two nations. Everyone would welcome consultation in the event of differences between them.

Why, then, does no one really believe that this document means peace in any positive sense whatsoever? Why, then, are the French workers urged to lengthen their working day in order to arm? Why, then, is Great Britain asking new concessions from everybody for defense? Why, then, is the United States contemplating a huge armament budget? Against what and against whom does the world arm?

Why, then, is the German foreign minister smuggled, as it were, into Paris, introduced into the capital like a burglar, the streets blocked to keep back the rage, furor and humiliation of the Paris population? Why, then, does this rage come from the very ranks of those Frenchmen who most consistently, for twenty years, worked for an understanding with Germany?

Why, then, do the French and German and British governments bring every possible pressure, direct and indirect, not only upon their own journalists, but upon the journalists of neutral powers, to be very quiet, not to criticize, not to ask questions, not to doubt?

Why, then, is this a peace without joy, a peace without confidence?

When the armistice was announced in November 1918 people rushed into the streets, they embraced each other; strangers meeting in the street shook hands; for a few hours all men were happy. Nobody had to organize that demonstration. No one had to tell the press of the world to celebrate that peace.

The celebration of this peace is an automatic chorus of words framed in foreign offices.

With whom is this new peace signed? With 'France'? With whom was the peace of Munich signed? With 'Great Britain'?

Not at all. With the prime minister, Mr. Chamberlain. In the next moment the German Leader informs the world that if the prime minister of Great Britain should be Mr. Churchill, or Mr. Eden, or Mr. Duff-Cooper, the peace might be endangered.

Presumably we shall soon hear that if the prime minister of France should be, let us say, M. Mandel, the peace would be off. According to the newspaper *Populaire*, M. Mandel and M. Jean Zay, two members of the cabinet, are not invited to the official lunch. They happen to be Jewish and, under this new peace, the German government, apparently, dictates the dining lists of its hosts.

Herr Ashmann is attached to the German delegation. Herr Ashmann is the press representative. Herr Ashmann is in reality the chief of the German Disarmament Commission. For the Hitler government wants to disarm France. It wants, above all, to disarm the Word. For the Word is its most dangerous enemy.

We may expect that a result of this peace will be again an attempt to get the French government to put into effect the decrees that M. Bonnet tried to write into the economic program of M. Paul Reynaud. Those decrees provided for secret trials in cases that might 'have international repercussions.' They provided that it 'would become an offense to criticize the head of a friendly state.' They amount, in fact, to giving the German gov-

ernment a veto power — through the French government — over the French press.

Give the German government that power, and France can build two airplanes to Germany's one and still be totally disarmed.

It amounts to a guaranty that the Word will not be used to criticize any policy of the German government whatsoever, for Germany and its Fuehrer are one.

There is no reciprocity in this. The German government will gladly give its consent not to allow its press to criticize the head of any friendly state — provided, of course, that that head is friendly to the present German government.

The German government will give no consent to refrain from criticizing the form of government of a friendly state, or to refrain from sending its agents to sow dissension in the midst of a friendly state, or to use its nationals to make propaganda against the forms, customs and social organization of a friendly state, or to attempt to buy, bribe or intimidate the press of a friendly state, or to spend millions disseminating anti-Semitic and anti-Labor propaganda in a friendly state, or to blackmail money out of the citizens of a friendly state, by, like kidnapers, holding innocent victims of its terror as hostages, in the hope of ransom money from abroad!

It will not consent to abandon a policy which throws millions of penniless refugees loose upon other friendly states, exploiting thus, in the most cynical way, the humane instincts of the rest of mankind.

The present French-German borders will be 'definitive.' But if a movement for 'independence' should 'spontaneously' arise in Alsace-Lorraine the German government, of course, would recognize a new situation.

An independent Alsace-Lorraine was prophesied to me just before the plebiscite in the Saar, by the German industrialist Hermann Roechling.

And we must always remember that this German government believes in 'dynamism.' It is really Trotskyist, in that it accepts the idea of the permanent revolution, with 'peace' as a means to that end.

December 7, 1938

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

November 26, 1938

NATIONS WILL OPEN LANDS TO REFUGEES — France and the Netherlands Each Agree to settle 10,000 in their Colonial Areas — SOME PROGRESS REPORTED — Berlin Considers Plan to Let Jews Leave the Country in Exchange for Trade.

New York Times

November 26, 1938

REICH TO ELIMINATE JEWISH RETAILERS — Decree Affects Commission Houses, Mail Order Concerns and All Shops in General — FOREIGNERS NOT EXEMPT — Goebbels Assails Germans who Make Jokes about Serious Policies of the Nazis.

Financing by Ransom Money

THE German government had it in its power from the beginning to facilitate an orderly emigration of the racial and political minorities whom it wished to get rid of and at the same time to assist its own export trade. I myself, in a small book on the refugee problem which was written early last summer, proposed such a plan.¹

At that time there was still in Germany Jewish wealth estimated at between twelve and twenty billion marks. There was also — and there still is — in Germany, hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of blocked foreign exchange, belonging either to Germans who had already emigrated, or to foreigners, many of them Americans, who had invested in good faith for the benefit of themselves and of Germany.

¹ *Refugees, Anarchy or Organization?* Published by Random House, 1938.

Today, with few exceptions, the foreign owners of blocked accounts cannot collect either the principal or the interest of their investment. The only way in which they can realize on their property is to liquidate it in the open international market. But whereas the mark retains its purchasing power and a high value inside Germany, under the ingenious system designed by Doctor Schacht, it now stands abroad at about five cents for the blocked mark, so that a foreign owner who sells a blocked account of a million marks realizes only some \$50,000.

And the same is true of blocked funds belonging to emigrants. If they should, or even could, transfer their funds abroad at the present rate they would lose so much that only the immensely wealthy could salvage enough to help them build up a new existence.

I suggested that the blocked accounts inside Germany could be used to finance the export of German capital goods inside an organized plan of emigration and mass settlement, by which Germany could co-operate in building up new colonies in under-populated countries at a great advantage to herself.

But this presumed on the part of the German government a slight modicum of reasonability and willingness to co-operate in the solution of a problem that the German government itself had created.

It is now clear that not an iota of such a spirit exists. Mr. George Rublee, the director of the Intergovernmental Refugee Committee which was set up at the Évian Conference, has been waiting for weeks in London, hoping to be received by the German government to discuss with it a reasonable plan.

But the German government has not even accorded him the courtesy of a hearing.

On the contrary, the German government now comes forward with a plan of its own.

This plan is simply outrageous. And it is to be hoped that it will be rejected categorically and finally.

This plan is nothing more or less than the extortion of ransom money from the Jews of the whole world.

It is nothing more or less than a forced loan to be levied on the Jewish citizens of other countries.

They are to be persuaded to send their capital — new capital — to Germany in order to subsidize German exports in return for delivering their co-religionists.

The Jewish capital that existed in Germany when I proposed a plan last summer has been willfully and maliciously destroyed. In a dispatch from Berlin in the *Sunday Times* Mr. Tolischus estimated that it had been reduced from 50 to 80 per cent either by direct confiscation or by destruction. For a Jewish business, being arbitrarily closed down, loses its clients and its good will, and the value built up is destroyed.

In the first place, there is no guaranty that new capital sent to Germany will not be treated in exactly the same way.

In the second place, if you begin paying ransom money to kidnapers you are subsidizing kidnaping. If this pretty idea works for Germany, so that the rest of the world finances her export trade in order to save people from being willfully starved and killed, why should not other governments who think they have a minority problem adopt the same technique?

And if the German government can persuade the world to buy free its Jewish citizens, why not then go on to extort capital in the same fashion in behalf of Catholics, Protestants or any other group who can be held as hostages?

The German government can next suggest that if Catholic property is to remain in the hands of the Church and the Church is to remain open, English and French and American Catholics should purchase the property with dollars or pounds or francs sent to the German government — with which to finance German exports at the expense of those of other countries and leave German money free for armament and international propaganda and espionage.

There is simply no end to this kind of highjacking game once one starts to play it. Therefore, the world must say *NO* in a tone that cannot possibly be misunderstood.

The German government is paying the penalty of its own outrages.

In fairness to the German people it must be made clear that this pogrom has outraged Germans as much as it has outraged the rest of the world.

The disgust goes from the ranks of the common people to some of the highest officials in the German government, including members of the Gestapo, who have stretched the decrees on occasion after occasion at the risk of their personal safety.

The German government knows this, and wants to appear before its own people in a good light. It wants to be able to say that if its victims starve, commit suicide or otherwise perish in their midst, it is the fault of the outside world, which has heartlessly refused to save them.

But the German people are not so stupid. They know what the outside world has done and is doing.

They know that the American consulates have become harbors of refuge in every city where they exist.

And they will not be deceived in this matter.

The outside world at this moment has got to be hard unless it is prepared to be victimized in a manner and on a scale absolutely unprecedented.

Millions for aid to the unfortunate! Not one cent for tribute!

December 14, 1938

1939

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

Social Justice

February 20, 1939

'Miss Thompson, who favors Mr. Roosevelt, the New Deal, the Loyalists in Spain and, it is presumed, the "loyalists" in Russia. ...'

Thoughts After Lippmann — and Roosevelt

I READ with interest on Saturday Mr. Lippmann's comment on President Roosevelt's speech. Mr. Lippmann touched immediately the most important aspect of the speech, namely, its emphasis upon religion as the source of democracy and the fact that this mere statement represents a departure from a concept that has been current for generations, namely, that democracy was predominantly secular and materialistic.

I wondered why this aspect of the speech had not struck me more forcibly. And I think the reason is that I have been living with this conception so long that I have come to take it for granted and to believe that everyone else who deeply cares for the democratic idea must feel and realize it, too. But it was brought home to me, reading Mr. Lippmann, that this is not so. And he was right in picking it out and enlarging upon it.

This matter of what liberal democracy is and in just what respects it differs from other current and competing social and political philosophies has become epochally important.

One is not prepared to defend it, either by words or action, unless one is certain in one's own mind what it is.

And in so far as the liberal idea has lost its vitality, I am convinced that this is due to the fact that the conception of man as

an ethical and spiritual being has been reduced to a consideration of him as a mere product of economic or biological forces, a totally materialistic formula.

The conception of man as a product of economics is the essence of the philosophy of Communism. The conception of man as a biological product, his destiny entirely determined by his racial chromosomes, is the essence of Naziism.

The conception of man as a child of God — that is to say, as a soul capable of choice, capable of reason, capable of developing and perfecting himself in the image of the ideal — is the basis of democracy.

It is the only philosophical justification for democracy. For if the human being is only the product of forces which move according to some mechanical myth, then the business of social organization is to follow that myth regardless of the individual.

As a logical result, therefore, you have the ant-hill society, in which the person has only a functional rôle.

And if his rôle is purely functional no limits can be set to the interference to which he may be subjected with a view to his fulfilling his mechanistic rôle.

The State becomes the first and last cause, because only the State can see to it that he fulfills his function. The State therefore becomes God, and the God-State can direct his conscience, his will, his intellect, his erotic life, his work and his leisure.

Absolutely opposed to this is the religious conception that a man is a soul to be saved; that he shares divinity; that the goal of life is self-perfection.

This faith leads logically to a quite different social goal from the mechanistic conception. For under it the aim of a society must be to produce the largest possible number of good and great human beings.

And all action which is taken by organized society will take into consideration the eventual effect upon the members of that so-

ciety as individuals and as a whole. It will ask: Does this or that measure contribute to making the last member of the corporate body a wiser, kinder, more courageous, more generous, more creative person? Will it, that is to say, contribute to making him more Godlike?

And the final authority in such a society rests in moral principle.

This is the concept of Judaism, whose people are, or should be, governed by the Ten Commandments, which are nothing but ten statements of ethical principles.

It is the concept of Christianity, whose adherents accept the Great Commandment which Jesus said was the sum of the law.

And it is the concept of democracy expressed by William Penn, who said that either men will be governed by God or they will be ruled by tyrants. . . . The essence of the liberal idea is therefore not mechanical but spiritual.

It is not comprehended by such phrases as 'majority rule,' or 'representative government,' or even 'economic equality.'

In our own days we have flagrant examples of majority rule being used to support the most absolute despotism; and people are actually fooled by the popular plebiscites under which the masses are cajoled, bought and propagandized or terrorized into putting a 'yes' on some ballot or other.

There is nothing imperative to liberal democracy in the two-party or many-party system. These are only instruments — tools — for the functioning of the democratic process, and the dynamics of history perennially demand that in the interest of adjustment to inevitable change we scrap some tools and invent new ones.

It is possible to imagine a Soviet state which would be liberal. It is also possible to imagine a corporate state which would be liberal. It is not the form that determines the content but the content that determines the form — in art, as in life, and in the

organization of society. The nature of society is determined by the ideals which move its members.

And if the ideal is the deeply religious conception that the human being's first loyalty must be to God — that is to say to the best in his own nature — then there are definite limitations set upon the encroachments of organized society upon him. It may and must impose upon him certain restrictions and inhibitions in the interests of the general welfare. But it may not compel him to believe what his intelligence denies or twist his tongue to what he thinks is a lie.

All of our civil liberties derive from this concept of the dignity of man, of respect for the person as something sacred. That is why the Declaration of Independence says that men are endowed with unalienable rights by their *Creator*.

The practical justification of this faith is that all the great creative periods in history have embodied this concept of human dignity and individual responsibility before God. This concept has been the great liberator. Out of it has come all that we have of science, whose ideal is truth; our greatest poetry and art; humanism; all noble and chivalrous conduct and even all heroism. For the only heroic act is a voluntary act. If a man is brave because there is a pistol at his back to shoot him if he is not, where is the courage?

Out of this concept and out of it alone has come and can come the liberation of races and of submerged social classes.

It is the only really perennially revolutionary idea. It is the idea inherent in the concept of conversion: namely, that man, being endowed with a yearning after a never-realized ideal of something greater than himself, and being equipped with reason and intelligence which set him above the animals, is capable of recognizing good and evil, and, observing his sins and repenting of them, can change his way of life and change himself, and thus be renewed.

January 9, 1939

The Refugees

TO BE thought well of by one's fellows is very, very sweet. But I must confess to a feeling of deep embarrassment and humility in being offered this tribute. I consider it almost a definition of unearned increment. For I see no reason why anyone should be praised, or considered especially worthy, for seeking his own self-protection. In so far as I have tried to plead the cause of the refugees, through those instruments for reaching the public which happen to be at my command, I have done so out of what is, in its ultimate analysis, a sheer instinct of self-preservation. I presume, of course, that one's self is more than one's physical being; it is more than the lungs with which one breathes, or the heart that pumps blood through one's arteries, or the limbs with which one moves.

One's self is, first of all, the sum of one's inheritance, not only of one's biological but of one's social inheritance. It is the complex of all that one believes, and all that one longs for, of what one knows, and of what one hopes, some day, somehow, to find out, if only people will let you go on trying to find out. It is not a wholly personal thing, this personal self; for one wants not only to find things out, within one's limitations, but to keep the way open for others to find out afterwards.

And so the protection of one's self becomes, in a time of crisis, the protection of those things, those forms and values which are the essential part of one's self as a *person*, and not as an *animal*.

'In a time of crisis.' Well, it is our fate to live in a time of crisis. To live in a time when all forms and all values are being challenged. In other and more easy times it was not, perhaps, necessary for the individual to confront himself with a clear question: What is it that you really believe? What is it that you really cherish? What is it for which you might, actually, in a showdown, be willing to die? What is it you will give your fortune for?

Indeed, most of us who were born in another epoch, born, like me, at the end of the nineteenth century, have a certain embarrassment about even raising the question of whether there is anything for which one is willing to die — or dedicate one's life. It smacks of a false heroism, of an outmoded pathos; it seems, somehow, an overstatement, and it seems to exaggerate one's own importance, as though any one person's willingness to die for something really would make such a difference to the great whole which is a nation or a culture.

And yet, there it is. I say, with all the reticence which such large, pathetic words evoke in one soberly reared, that one cannot exist today as a *person* — that is to say, one cannot exist in full consciousness — without having to have a showdown with one's self, without having to define what it is that one lives by, without being clear in one's own mind what matters and what does not matter.

I find that certain things matter to me tremendously. And first and foremost among those things is the privilege of every human being to make out of himself as much as he possibly can. I conceive that conception to be the basis of all democracy and of all freedom. I do not believe that democracy and freedom exist as ends in themselves. I am not intellectually convinced, for instance, that the particular form of representative government which we at present have is, in all respects, the most perfect form ever devised, or the one necessarily most suited to all future states of civilization. I seriously doubt it, and I am quite certain that our present concept of the national state and of national sovereignty is an anachronism in the world, and is responsible for the economic and political anarchy in which the world finds itself. But the idea that made this democracy, and is behind every great and creative civilization that I know anything about, is the idea that Man is an ethical and spiritual being, capable of choice, capable of reason, capable of developing and perfecting himself in

the image of an ideal. That is the basis of all concepts of freedom — Man must be free, in order to become his most highly developed self, in order, as the religious would say it, to ‘approach God.’

And, to me, the great crime of the tyrannies which are springing up now in the world is that they seek to interpret for every man, according to the most limited materialistic values, his place in the scheme of things — his place, not only as a worker, but as a thinker, and as an ethical creature. The Communist creed — and it is a creed — seeks to divorce every human being from any conception of transcendental value. It tells us that Man is an economic animal, and that his reasoning, his emotions and all his impulses are only rationalizations of an economic status. There is a certain truth in what they say, but it is very, very far from the whole truth, and it is belied by every human being’s most direct experience. And it has produced, in the one place where it has been tried, an incredibly sterile and barren civilization. Now, it is being countered by an equally materialistic and not even as reasonable a creed — by the Nazi conception that Man is a pure biological product, the result of a combination of chromosomes, without any social or spiritual inheritance whatever, and that the Nation is an inevitable product of the sum of those chromosomes. Under this thesis, every Jew is compelled to remain an Oriental, even if for a thousand years his ancestors have lived exclusively in the atmosphere of western culture. And the effect of both creeds is the belief that someone — who, incidentally, must also logically be the product of either his economic or biological conditioning — can tell each of us what to believe, how to think, how even to feel, and thus make each of us a part of some ant-hill civilization in which we have a ‘function,’ according to some pre-arranged plan, but in which we do not exist as people, as individual souls, at all.

The triumph of such a conception means the destruction of the only world in which I can imagine myself feeling at home or wish-

ing to live at all. In any place where that conception triumphed, I too would be an exile — even if my language were spoken in the streets, even if my body were safe, even if my physical wants were guaranteed. And I do not want to be an exile. Therefore, out of self-preservation, I declare my solidarity with those whom this conception has exiled, and with them fight lest the whole world be made into a prison, for my race as well as theirs.

We who resist do not fight for the Jews. I might even say that we do not fight for the Christians. We fight for the right to be Jews or Christians in the fullest sense of the possible meaning of both words. We fight for the right to fulfill ourselves as human beings; I might say for the right to *become* human beings, for I am more and more convinced that we are not born human, in the great sense of that word, but achieve humanity, each for himself, and often painfully, but more easily when the civilization in which we live is bent on that goal — the graduation into humanity of the greatest possible number of creatures.

I do not believe that Man is conditioned wholly by economics, nor wholly by his race or his chromosomes. Both play a part. But he is also conditioned by the sum of his social, intellectual and spiritual inheritance. I want to help preserve as much of that inheritance as reason can support to be of value. And I recognize that over and above economics and race there is such a thing as personal greatness, talent, inspiration, vision, goodness, genius. The important thing about Spinoza is not that he was a Jew. The important thing is what he thought, and the universal validity which mankind finds in much of what he thought. The important thing about Sir Venkata Raman is not that he is an almost black Hindu. The important thing is whether his researches into the nature of light are true or are not true. The important thing about Goethe is not that he was a German. He is greatest where he is most comprehensible to the most un-German minds. I suppose there was no English writer so English as

Shakespeare — and none so universal, so translatable into every language and every mind form. And this search after the universal is a human search, and perhaps the noblest human search, for it is the search for truth. And that we should care whether something is true or not true, chiefly, perhaps, is what makes us human beings.

January 24, 1939

[An address given at a testimonial dinner in honor of Dorothy Thompson by the American Committee for Christian German Refugees.]

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Herald Tribune

January 30, 1939

CULTURE ACCORD GIVES GERMANY FOOTHOLD IN
SPAIN — Possible Political Influence Seen in Censor
Clauses.

Spain and the Catholics

IT WAS announced this week that the Hitler government of Germany had concluded a 'cultural' treaty with Franco Spain.

In view of the stand that a large section of the Catholic Church here and elsewhere has taken toward Franco and, at the same time, of the attitude that the Church and the Pope himself have taken toward the cultural aspects of Hitlerism, this news ranks among the most important of the week. It is evidence of the serious dilemma in which the Church finds itself.

The Vatican committed itself to the cause of Franco at the very outbreak of the rebellion. Franco represented the clerical forces, in opposition to Marxian trends in the Popular Front government. There had been outrages against priests, nuns and church property — very serious outrages. The Vatican expected that the Franco rebellion would be a *coup d'état*, that it would immediately be successful and that it would protect the Church. Certainly the Vatican never foresaw or believed that it would develop into an appallingly bloody civil war and become, in essence, a fight not for or against Catholicism but for or against Fascism.

The complete failure to achieve real non-intervention in Spain, the open and material support of Franco by Mussolini and Hitler, together with the intervention of Russian Communism

both as a state and as a movement, confused and changed the picture.

The Church is therefore in the embarrassing danger of becoming an ally of Fascism, just as the democratic political world, by its honestly designed policy of non-intervention, has become in effect the aid of Franco and Fascism.

A large section of the Catholic world recognizes this. An influential section of Catholic opinion in this country is aware that if, in the eyes of millions of people, Fascism and Catholicism should become identified, it might be very unfortunate for Catholicism in all democratic countries.

And over and beyond this, one must now wonder very seriously what the effect of a Franco victory will be upon Christianity itself in Spain.

For it is no longer possible to regard Fascism as the friend of Christianity. And in making a cultural treaty with Hitler, Franco has laid Spain wide open to the penetration of Nazi ideology, which has been repeatedly denounced by the Pope himself as anti-Christian.

Fascism has followed a fairly consistent pattern of development. At the outset it uses an appeal to Christianity, in order to bludgeon the Marxists.

Having got rid of them, it then turns on Christianity itself. Hitler asserted at the outset that his régime stood on the ground of 'positive Christianity.' But he claims for Naziism the right to determine what 'positive Christianity' may be.

It has gone so far in the distortion of Christian ideas as to undertake to rewrite the Sermon on the Mount — and a Nazi magazine, *Nordland*, has called the Sermon on the Mount 'the first Bolshevik manifesto.'

The Vatican's newspaper in Rome, *Osservatore Romano*, said of National Socialism, 'It is the most inhumane of all heresies. Hitler is true to his rôle of anti-Christ.'

But it is with this anti-Christ that General Franco has just concluded a cultural treaty.

The agreement signed runs indefinitely, and can only be denounced on a year's notice.

Both sides are to give fiscal preference to the work of their cultural institutions.

The agreement foresees an exchange of students and lecturers. And, interestingly enough, German schools in Spain are to be allowed to follow German methods of teaching.

This would seem to be a concession from Franco, who has previously maintained that *only* Catholic schools would be allowed in *his* Spain.

Any books or publications attacking either land, its form of state or its leading figures, must be banned, according to the treaty.

And that would seem to imply that Franco must ban the Papal encyclical 'Mit Brennender Sorge' (With Burning Sorrow), in which the Pope attacked the Nazi racialist principles, which have since been adopted in Fascist Italy.

Actually, this encyclical letter was all but suppressed by Franco. As far as I know, it appeared only in the bulletin of the diocese of Pamplona.

Under the terms of this cultural agreement, General Franco must admit to Spain the works of the chief Nazi philosopher, Alfred Rosenberg, who is openly anti-Christian.

He must fail to criticize the actions of the Nazi régime in continually identifying Christianity with Judaism, and defaming it on this ground.

He must not protest against the deification of the mundane leader, against which the Pope warned in March 1937.

He must not protest the continued arrest of priests and nuns in Germany, their vilification in the German press and the framing against them of unfounded charges of immorality.

It is simply fantastic that Franco, supported by the Church, should form a cultural alliance with a country whose official publications have often written of German Catholics in almost the very words of the old American *Menace*.

In the training camps of the Nazi Party — according to Catholic and Protestant reports — it is repeatedly stated that National Socialism has three enemies: Judaism, Masonry and Christianity.

That is a part of Nazi 'cultural' training. It is reasonable to suppose that it will be continued in German schools in Spain, to which Franco is willing to accord special privileges.

The Catholic Church knows far better than I, who am Protestant, what has happened to the Church itself under the Nazis.

It has been revealed by such eminent men as Cardinal Faulhaber, of Munich. It is known that the Jesuit College in Feldkirch has already been confiscated without compensation; that since April 1938 nearly all Catholic grammar schools have been closed; that Catholic secondary schools have been deprived of all legal rights, and that the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, official party organ, has announced, 'We are armed and prepared to continue the battle against Catholicism until the final, frightful decision, until the point of total annihilation.'

There are many indications that the Nazi Party is planning an expropriation of Catholic Church property in a wholesale fashion.

They have already taken an inventory of such institutions as monasteries and convents.

Catholic publications in this country have repeatedly warned that such a procedure was being contemplated.

And the Nazis continue to hold in prison the Catholic chancellor of Catholic-governed Austria, Doctor Schuschnigg.

Meanwhile, there is news from Europe that, once Franco is established in Spain, the countries of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo

Axis, with which Franco Spain will be allied, plan a new Fascist league of nations to include certain South American countries.

Leaving the religious question, for the moment, out of account, is it likely that the interests of the United States of America will be served by such a league? And what would be the attitude of American Catholics toward such a league?

January 27, 1939

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

May 27, 1936

The first sentences in the mass trial of Catholic monks at Coblenz on charges of immorality were passed.

April 28, 1937

At Berlin, the People's Tribunal sentenced Reverend Joseph Rossaint, chief defendant in the Catholic treason trial, to eleven years in the penitentiary. He was found guilty of 'preparation for high treason.'

June 20, 1937

Following school elections in Bavaria, the Roman Catholic public schools have been closed by the government.

October 21, 1937

At Danzig the Catholic Center Party has been dissolved.

New York Times

February 28, 1939

Reich is Gradually Swallowing Church Possessions in Austria.

New York Times

March 2, 1939

500,000 CATHOLICS SEEN FACING EXILE — Nazi Refugee List Will Reach That Total, Says Relief Leader in Plea Here.

Pius XII — the Former Diplomat

IT is very rare indeed — I believe it has not happened in generations — that a papal secretary of state should become the sovereign of the Church. Pius XII was not only papal secretary but

he was probably the greatest diplomat of Catholicism and one of the great diplomats of our time.

Those of us who were foreign correspondents in Berlin during the days of the Weimar Republic were not unfamiliar with the figure of the doyen of the diplomatic corps. Tall, slender, with magnificent eyes, strong features and indescribably beautiful and expressive hands, in his features and bearing Eugenio, Archbishop Pacelli, looked every inch what he was — a Roman nobleman, of the proudest blood of the western world.

It is not only in harmony with the spirit and policies of his predecessor, Pope Pius XI, that he should make his first speech as Pope in behalf of peace; it is also in harmony with his diplomatic career.

For in 1917 it was Archbishop Pacelli who presented to the German government Pope Benedict XV's plea to the warring nations to make peace. And in supporting this plea to the German government Archbishop Pacelli showed enormous political insight and prophetic vision. The Bolshevist revolution had broken out in Russia and the archbishop expressed himself to high officials of the German government, prophesying two things: first, that if the war were continued it was questionable whether western civilization would survive it; and secondly, that Germany would lose it.

The intercession of the Pope was brushed aside by the German chancellor, Michaelis, who was, in any event, only a puppet of the War Ministry and the General Staff. Nor is it possible now, after the fact, to estimate what the historical effect of a negotiated peace might have been.

But in his negotiations with the German chancellor, Archbishop Pacelli showed a very clear grasp of what concessions Germany would have to make — concessions very much smaller than she made at Versailles later — and to important Germans he said: 'Your poor fatherland! Where are you driving it?'

He saw many of his prophecies fulfilled, in the months following Versailles. A semi-Communist régime was set up in Bavaria whose followers invaded his house and threatened his life. He showed on that occasion the proud composure that one would always expect of him.

He had no great affection or admiration for the Weimar Republic, which eventually brought order out of post-war chaos. It was in the nature of his character and his background that he should not. He was an aristocrat, with an aristocratic view of life.

The Weimar Republic, with its rational freethinking ideas, its numerous squabbling political parties, its moderately socialistic tinge, its lack of proud, dominating personalities, was not the kind of régime which would attract a Roman nobleman and a Catholic prince.

But he was far too knowledgeable and too aware of the republic's tremendous problems, and far too courteously conscious of the enormous amount of good will in the Weimar régime, not to give it full credit for what it accomplished. He knew that the republic, slightly plebeian to his taste, had saved Germany from Bolshevism — the republic, including the Socialists, and nobody else.

The republic's Socialist President, Friedrich Ebert, cherished a deep admiration for the Catholic envoy, and Archbishop Pacelli reciprocated that respect.

President Ebert longed to conclude a concordat between Germany and the Vatican, and actually negotiations were opened under Chancellor Wirth early in the 1920's, after the archbishop had been named nuncio to the German Republic. But the concordat was finally concluded with Bavaria, instead.

The relation of Cardinal Pacelli — he was created cardinal in 1929 — to the National Socialist movement underwent very significant changes. The cardinal, by his breeding and his tastes, had always been close to the German aristocracy.

A certain part of the aristocracy, Catholic and Protestant, fore-saw in the National Socialist movement a real awakening of the nation, a call to a greater austerity and discipline of life, the possibility of creating a new élite of morally upright and devoted leaders, and under the influence of many who sincerely believed that this was the temper and sense of the Nazi movement, Cardinal Pacelli was favorably inclined to it.

He left Berlin in 1931, but, of course, was kept very closely informed about what was going on there. He was undoubtedly strongly influenced by Franz von Papen, Catholic, worldly, charming, a nobleman, who was one of the aristocrats who was a collaborator with and an apologist for the Nazi régime. The cardinal was also undoubtedly influenced by the prelate Kaas, leader of that branch of the German Clerical Party, the Christian Socialists, who believed in collaboration with the Nazis.

But by 1934 Cardinal Pacelli had become aware that the sort of régime which his aristocratic friends had envisaged was not the one that had conquered Germany.

On the contrary, the concordat which the Third Reich concluded with the Vatican in 1933 was treated like a scrap of paper by the Nazis.

Herr von Papen himself came within an inch of being murdered by the Nazis in June 1934, and several of his collaborators, among them Edgar Jung, who, it was said, wrote most of von Papen's speeches and had tried through his chief to divert the Nazi régime into more conservative channels, were brutally killed.

The Nazi régime took up a war against the Church, which was the more vicious in that it was carried on under the guise of protecting 'positive Christianity.'

Wholesale charges of immorality were brought against priests, and they were arrested. Nuns were arrested charged with breaking currency regulations.

The Nazi press played up all of these charges in the most flam-

boyant headlines, using every instrument of propaganda to present the Church as a sink of iniquity. When the priests and nuns came to trial, almost all the cases were dismissed for lack of evidence, but meanwhile the Church had been smeared.

The ruthless murder of Chancellor Dollfuss in Austria, and the fact that this pious Catholic was left by Nazi guards to bleed to death on a sofa while they denied him even the services of a priest in his dying moments; the conquest of Austria and the continued incarceration of Chancellor Schuschnigg, who had attempted to build a Catholic Austrian state on the social principles of the *Quadragesimo Anno*; and now the beginning of the expropriation of church lands in Austria, have all revealed the true face of National Socialism, which more and more among pious Germans is called, under their breaths, 'the brown Bolshevism.'

There seems to be no doubt that the great church lands in Austria — such as Melk and Kloster-Neuburg, whose fields and vineyards have yielded great revenues to the Church to be expended for education and charity — will be broken up and auctioned for the benefit of the new 'brown nobility,' and to salvage temporarily an empty treasury.

Having first robbed the Jews, the Nazis are beginning to rob the Church, and later will almost certainly expropriate what is left of the property of the bourgeoisie.

And meanwhile a new trinity has been set up in Germany, with no room for Christianity: the trinity of the State, conceived of as the final expression of God, of the leader as the incarnation of the State, and the Nietzschean philosophy of the Superman and the 'driving, dynamic will.'

The late Pope Pius XI described this conception of the State as 'stateolatry,' expressing in that single word the concept of idolatry and heathenism.

As archbishop and cardinal, the new Pope displayed not only exceptional diplomatic gifts, but all who knew him were con-

scious of his profound religious fervor. Like all great Catholics he takes a long view of things, for the Church does not think in terms of today and tomorrow, but in terms of cycles and epochs.

In a talk which he had with an acquaintance while he was in America, and which she immediately recorded in a diary, he said in substance: 'The Church is bound to win. It always has. All these movements run their course. I do not believe in fighting against them. I believe in fighting for the positive, for Christianity, which of course I identify with the Catholic Church.'

And on that occasion he suggested that it might again be the historic function of the Church to inherit the ruins of social dissolution and collaborate to build the social order of the future.

It is certainly not unimportant that Pope Pius XII, sovereign of the mightiest Church in Christendom, should be a man who served the Vatican as diplomat for so many years, in the land whose policies, and whose future, are causing Christendom such great concern.

March 6, 1939

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

March 9, 1939

BRITAIN TO PUT 300,000 MEN IN FRANCE IN EVENT OF WAR; U.S. TO STUDY NEUTRALITY ACT — COMMONS APPROVES — Hore-Belisha Hailed as He Reveals Plan to Send Nineteen Divisions — 'Limited War' Abandoned — Army Forces Total 531,000 — Recruiting at Peak — Middle East Reserve Outlined.

No Ides of March?

FOR months past students of the European situation have been looking forward apprehensively to the month of March in the fear that during the current month some new move would be undertaken by the Axis powers that would again threaten the peace of Europe, as it was seriously threatened last fall.

It would be rash to venture any prophecy for this month or for the months to come, but I think there is no question that fear has somewhat abated, and that in Britain, France and here there is far more confidence and optimism than there was in mid-winter.

Now, it is worth while to analyze the reasons for this, for those reasons may be a guide to our future conduct.

Did this relaxation of tension occur because the democratic powers were more conciliatory or because they stiffened? Is this more hopeful outlook, this lessening fear of war or a *coup d'état*, or another threat of war under which large concessions would have to be made to preserve peace, due to overtures to Fascism, or is it due to a sterner brow, less mincing words and an actual increase in opposing strength?

The answer to that question is, it seems to me, the proper comment on our own foreign policy. And I do not think it can be denied that the democratic world has won a breathing space, not by softening but by hardening.

In the stiffening of the front against aggrandizement the United States has played an important rôle. The sudden realization of the dictatorships that the United States cannot positively be ruled out as a factor has given the potential aggressors pause.

For this President Roosevelt deserves, in my belief, the gratitude of the world; and the American people, whose passionate will to peace cannot be doubted, have backed him up with admirable common sense.

For it is extremely unlikely that any power would risk action that might lead to war if there was an even chance that the United States would be against it. The economic and industrial resources of this country are so enormous that they would be bound to cast the decisive die in a contest in arms.

The second element in the stiffening of the democracies has been the unequivocal declaration of solidarity between Britain and France and the very firm but polite words addressed to the dictatorships by the prime ministers and foreign ministers of both countries.

In this respect the words of Lord Halifax a week ago are quite different from British utterances prior to the events of last September:

‘I should have thought that everybody everywhere must now realize that there is no party and no statesman in this country that would ever contemplate an aggressive war. . . . But it is also dangerous that some people in other countries occasionally fall into the opposite error and are tempted to interpret our will to peace as proof of our weakness and cowardice. . . . The material and moral resources of this country are enormous and the spirit of our people is in no way weakened.’

This statement followed a remarkable communication from Hitler, who, having in season and out bragged of possessing the largest and most powerful fighting force in Europe, expressed 'pained surprise' at the state of British rearmament.

Now this rearmament is really what is worrying the Axis powers. A few months ago, before Munich, they were taunting the democracies with being weak and decadent and incapable of efficient organization for either peace or war. But suddenly they are discovering that when popular governments and free peoples make up their minds to do something through united effort and collaboration amongst themselves, they can do it quite as speedily and efficiently as the totalitarian states.

Next month the output of British airplanes will, I am informed, be three and one-half times what it was a year ago, and by July, if the present tempo is not relaxed, it will be as great as the current output of the Germans. Moreover, the British and French peoples are not exhausted by years of being mobilized and perpetually speeded up. And these peoples know perfectly well, despite the propaganda of the dictatorships, that not one of them is arming for aggression, but only in defense of their lands and their institutions.

And again, in this rearmament the United States has played a major rôle. Our sales of airplanes to Britain and France have frightened the potential aggressors, and actually the planes sold to France will have enabled her to double her force in 1939. It will still be inferior to that of Italy and Germany.

In contrast with the stiffening of the democratic action and morale, the economic condition and the popular morale in both Italy and Germany have worsened. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the prestige of Hitler and Mussolini in their own countries was both strengthened and shaken by the events of last September. In particular, Hitler's prestige with the German people rests on the fact that he has got what he wanted so far without war.

But Hitler discovered after his victories last September that not he but Chamberlain had become the popular idol in Germany. For the German people hate war as much as any other people, and, despite the propaganda of a controlled press and radio, they realize quite fully that they were spared a war, not by grace of Hitler or Mussolini, but by grace of the democratic powers.

Also the victory has not been as sweet as was hoped. The acquisition of Austria and the Sudetenland has become an enormous burden on German economy. Conquest has meant new taxes, and the taxes already are terrific. And, again despite the propaganda, the German people do not believe that they are being threatened by the democratic powers. They are sullen toward their government, there is more outspoken criticism than there has been in all the years of the Hitler régime, because the people feel that the democracies, driven too far, will take a stand.

Also, in the countries of the Danubian Basin there is a notable stiffening — particularly in Poland.

The peace, therefore, that Europe at present enjoys is not due to appeasement but is due to resistance. One needs only to read the German and Italian press to be aware of this.

The belligerently confident tone of the Axis powers changed abruptly in January, immediately following President Roosevelt's address to Congress. That the spring may go by without another world-shaking incident is not a triumph for the Chamberlain-Bonnet policy; it is a triumph for the Roosevelt policy. And the greatest thing that we have to fear is that, comforted by the relaxation of tension, the democratic powers will lapse from the stand which has brought about that more fortunate atmosphere.

Mr. Henry L. Stimson, secretary of state under President Hoover, a former secretary of war, a political opponent of President Roosevelt and a sharp critic of his domestic policy, has done the country a service by his lucid, reasonable and, to me, unanswerable analysis of the world situation and the support he

has given the President in the open letter published in the *New York Times* on Tuesday.

Not only reason, but the empirical facts, support the President and Mr. Stimson.

March 8, 1939

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

September 27, 1938

Hitler, speaking in the Sportspalast in Berlin on September 26, 1938: 'The Sudetenland is the last territorial demand I have to make in Europe....'

New York Times

March 15, 1939

TROOPS OF FOUR NATIONS CONTEND FOR RUTHENIA AS HITLER DISSOLVES CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC AND MAKES BOHEMIA-MORAVIA A PROTECTORATE — ARMIES ON MARCH — Reich Invades Slovakia and Czech Provinces Without Opposition — PEOPLE TAKEN UNAWARES.

New York Times

March 17, 1939

SLOVAKIA NOW HITLER 'PROTECTORATE'; HUNGARY ANNEXES CARPATHO-UKRAINE.

Nihilism East of the Rhine

THERE have been those who have believed that a free hand for Germany in eastern Europe would mean the efficient organization of that great complex of states held between the Rhine and the Russian frontier.

Ever since the war and the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire publicists have been accustomed to speak of the 'Balkanization' of eastern Europe, and some have looked to Germany to bring a greater amount of order into this territory. Some people believed that this would be the function of the Nazis.

On the belief that Nazi Germany is first of all a legitimate government and, secondly, represents a conservative and in-

tegrated order of society, much of the western world has gone astray.

As anyone who reads 'Mein Kampf' carefully, following its main threads through the miasma of disorganized material, must see, Naziism does not represent an organized state at all. It is nothing more or less than the kernel of a movement which will theoretically come to rest nowhere until it has established the supremacy of the Teutonic and allied races over the earth, reducing the rest to vassalage.

Such phrases as 'the union of all Germans within the Reich' are totally misleading as descriptions of Nazi policy. They have become more and more misleading since the conquest of Austria.

For it now appears that Hitler lays claim to the whole territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, in which non-Germans outnumber Germans in the ratio of four to one.

Hitler's attitude toward the Austro-Hungarian monarchy is made crystal-clear in his book. He believes that this territory consists of inferior Slavs, Magyars and other not quite white people who should be ruled by the 'Herrenvolk' — the Germans.

It is now possible to see, first, that he really means this and, second, how he intends to accomplish it. He intends to accomplish it by the pulverization, the atomization, of the existing states to the point where they will be utterly helpless and can be enslaved and plundered.

There was Czechoslovakia: a well-organized, on the whole prosperous, well-governed, liberal state, its finances in excellent order, its defenses admirable, its people enjoying the freedoms of western civilization, its education progressive, its population industrious and peaceable.

Since last September this state has been pulverized.

The lopping-off of the Sudetenland was accomplished with the collaboration of Britain and France on the theory that the

Sudetens should 'go home to the Reich' — a Reich to which they had never in all history belonged.

The lopping-off of Slovakia can hardly thus be explained. It is the result of a systematically engineered *coup d'état*, effected by a complete travesty of the democratic process, by revolutionary agents, treasonable Slovaks and unexampled high-pressure propaganda in a country where the press had been silenced in advance by Nazi threats.

An independent Slovakia is a monstrosity. It is incapable of living by itself as a state, and will simply become a vassal.

What is left of a progressive state — Bohemia and Moravia — is now an island completely surrounded by Germany. These, too, will be pulverized.

When this is accomplished Poland will be cut off from Hungary, and will be, probably, the next state to be smashed.

Germany will claim the provinces of Pomorze, Poznan and Silesia as being German. These are the 'Sudetenlands' of Poland. They are not German and they never have been German, as far as the population is concerned.

The so-called Polish Corridor was always a land predominantly populated by Poles. Since 1918 it has become almost wholly populated by Poles.

But Germany may also claim the former Austrian provinces of Poland, to which, ethnically, she has not a shred of claim.

The technique will be exactly the same as that used against Czechoslovakia. There will be a continuance of the provocation of the Polish minority in Danzig in the hope that this will bring retaliations against Germans in the Corridor. We shall then hear that a great power of eighty millions cannot tolerate the barbarous treatment of its people; there will be a mobilization on the Polish border; another ultimatum; Poland will be reminded that her ally, France, can do nothing whatever to help her; Stalin will sit tight, and Germany will accomplish her purpose 'without spilling a drop of blood.'

Probably Germany will try to make a deal with Poland and will offer her an outlet to the sea in Libau, in Latvia. This will accomplish a double purpose. It may persuade the Poles to take national dismemberment more gracefully, and it will break up Latvia, thus carrying the pulverization process a step farther.

But the acquisition of these territories will incorporate in Germany nearly a million Poles, and the incorporation into Poland of that section of Latvia necessary for an outlet to the sea will put nearly a million Latvians into Poland, and the whole process will change Poland from being a national state into being a conglomeration of nationalities, pulverized, atomized and ripe for complete vassalage.

Of course, as the Nazi empire makes its way, taking new territories, it will make no compensation whatsoever to the states which it is robbing.

The modern port of Gdynia, which has been built with millions of Polish money, will be simply taken by the Germans, just as what they have done in Czechoslovakia is a huge act of expropriation.

The whole of southern and eastern Europe is in for this pulverization and plunder process.

Nazi Germany does not intend to allow a single strong or numerous state to exist between her frontiers and the Russian border.

The end result of all this is revolution and chaos. It can have no other result. Everything that Germany is acquiring now is an ultimate liability unless she terrorizes the whole world. It cannot be administered in any orderly fashion, for the Nazi Reich is incapable of tolerable administration of peoples who have once enjoyed national freedom. It can only enslave them.

Most significant is Stalin's speech in which he proclaims the isolation of Russia. Not a word is being said now in Germany about the Soviet Ukraine. On the contrary, feelers are being

constantly put out between Russia and Germany. The hope of certain French and British conservatives that Russia and Germany would spring at each other's throats and bleed each other white in a war is not at all likely to be fulfilled. Naziism will not make war. Naziism is making a great nihilist revolution.

March 15, 1939

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

October 7, 1938

Prime Minister Chamberlain in a speech to the House of Commons on October 6, 1938 (after Munich):

‘... To accuse us of having by that advice betrayed Czechoslovakia is simply preposterous. All we did was to save her from annihilation, to give her a chance of a new life as a new state which, even although it involved the loss of territory and fortifications, perhaps she may be able to enjoy in the future and develop a national existence in a neutrality and security comparable to that which we see in Switzerland today.’

Cassandra Speaking

WE ARE, at least, no longer susceptible to shocks over what is happening in central Europe. We feel pain and sorrow. But we do not share the perennial and amazing surprise of Mr. Chamberlain.

On February 18, 1938 — that is more than a year ago now, and before the entrance of Hitler into Austria — I wrote:

‘Write it down. On Saturday, February 12, 1938, Germany won the world war, and dictated in Berchtesgaden a peace treaty to make the Treaty of Versailles look like one of the great humane documents of the ages.

‘Write it down. On Saturday, February 12, 1938, militarism, paganism and despotism started on the march across all of Europe east of the Rhine.

‘Write it down that the world revolution began in earnest — and perhaps the world war.

'Why does Germany want Austria? For raw materials? It has none of consequence. To add to German prosperity? It inherits a poor country with serious problems. But strategically, it is the key to the whole of central Europe. Czechoslovakia is now surrounded. The wheat fields of Hungary and the oil fields of Rumania are now open. *Not one of them will be able to stand the pressure of German domination. . . .*

'It is horror walking. Not that "Germany" joins with Austria. We are not talking of "Germany." We see a new Crusade, under a pagan totem, worshipping "blood" and "soil," preaching the holiness of the sword, glorifying conquest, despising the Slavs, whom it conceives to be its historic "mission" to rule; subjecting all of life to a collectivist, militarized state. Persecuting men and women of Jewish blood, however diluted it may be. Moving, now, into the historic stronghold of Catholic Christianity, into an area of mixed races and mixed nationalities, which a thousand years of Austro-Hungarian Empire could only rule tolerably with tolerance.'

On September 21, I wrote an 'Obituary for Europe' and on October 1, following the Pact of Munich, I wrote 'Peace — And the Crisis Begins!' which was severely criticized in some quarters for its failure to rejoice over the peace. I said:

'What happened on Friday is called "Peace." Actually it is an international Fascist *coup d'état*.

'The "Four-Power Accord" is not even a diplomatic document. It is certainly not a normal treaty. It is such a fantastic piece of paper that it is difficult to describe except as a hurriedly concocted armistice made in advance of a war to permit the occupation by German troops of a territory which by sheer threat and demonstration of force they have conquered by "agreement." . . .

'There is not the most elementary consideration of justice. . . .

'The pressure of the Nazis in contiguous territories occupied by German troops, their immense and cunningly organized propa-

ganda, their house-by-house and name-by-name political organization; the ever-present threat that if the territories go German the political minorities will be exterminated, will assure the outcome of these plebiscites. *One might just as well cede them to Germany in the first place. . . .*

'Even on the basis of what by internal evidence would seem to be a rigged report [the Runciman Report], Germany is guilty of provoking what was nearly an all-European war. And the punishment for this guilt is that she received everything that she was going to fight the war over.

'This "everything" is more than the Sudeten territories. It is more than a free hand in the east. It is the domination of Europe. . . .

'In this whole affair, described as an attempt to keep peace, the democratic process has been completely suspended. In both Britain and France the facts have been suppressed by the exercise of government pressure on the controlled radio and on the newspapers. The people of England and France are confronted with a *fait accompli* without even being able to gain in advance possession of the facts on which it is based! . . .

'Not only is Czechoslovakia dismembered — what is left is destroyed as a democratic republic. It will be utterly impossible for the new state to exist under the conditions created.' . . .

On October 17, in 'The Case of Cardinal Innitzer,' the prophecy of Heine was recalled:

'It is the greatest merit of Christianity to have assuaged the joy of the German in brutal bellicosity, but . . . when, one day, the Cross of Christ is broken, the savagery of the old warriors, the wild berserker wrath, will break forth anew in all the barbaric fury of which our Nordic poets tell in song and saga. Even today the talisman of Christianity has begun to rot, and the day will come when its power will piteously collapse. Then will the old stone gods arise from the accumulated rubbish of the past. . . . When that day comes . . . take good care, Frenchmen, and do not inter-

fere with those affairs which we are settling among ourselves. Take care neither to fan the fire nor to quench it. . . . Do not laugh at my advice . . . the advice of a dreamer. . . . German thunder is admittedly German: it is not very agile . . . but it will come one day, and . . . you will hear an explosion such as has never yet occurred in the history of the world.

‘The hour will come, when, like spectators in an amphitheater, the nations will crowd around Germany to watch the great tourney.’

Chamberlain umbrellas are being advertised to wear in one’s coat lapel this spring. I am not wearing this symbol. I recall what happens to umbrellas when carried in cyclones. They blow inside out and have been known to bear their carriers into the whirlwind.

March 17, 1939

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

March 16, 1939

HITLER FOLLOWS HIS TROOPS INTO PRAGUE;
CZECHS JEER THE NAZIS; NEW RÉGIME SET UP —
CZECH AREA SEIZED — FISTS SHAKEN AT SOLDIERS
— People Weep, Hurl Snowballs at Tanks — Secret
Police Begin Hunt — Curfew Set.

The New Heroism

IN READING the accounts of the triumphal entry of the German Army into Prague, I noticed that one correspondent recorded that when the German tanks were met by snowballs hurled by Czech citizens 'the soldiers reddened.' He added that they preserved their discipline, however, in an exemplary manner.

I keep wondering why the German soldiers flushed. Was it repressed anger at the failure of the 'protected' to fall upon their knees in gratitude to the 'protectors'? Was it, perhaps, annoyance that the spick-and-span tanks of a conquering army that has never encountered a shot should be smeared by the snowballs of the infidels? Or was it, perhaps, something else that caused a blush to mount to the cheeks of the invaders? Did the soldiers of the German Army remember, perhaps, another army that stood at Ypres? Did they recall the troops that stood in the swamps at Tannenberg? Did they remember the fame of an army whose dead lie buried in rows on rows, mute reminders of a struggle in which Germany once, for four years, kept half the world at bay?

The United States stood opposite Germany in that war. But

when it was over no honest person could fail to pay tribute to the heroism of German soldiers.

But this New Heroism? What is this new sort of warrior who attacks only when he has first undermined his opponent by treachery, confused him by propaganda, seduced him by lies and false promises, disintegrated him from within and disarmed him?

What manner of man is the New Hero who enters with a great apparel of banners, armed and helmeted, accompanied by bombing planes, tanks, machine guns, only when it is certain that he is perfectly safe and likely to encounter only weeping women, terrified Jews and disarmed men from between whose clenched teeth come the strains of a national anthem sung into the air to be drowned in bugles and drums?

Who is this new Superman who burns asylums over the heads of orphaned babies, lays brands to churches and synagogues and drives the homeless and the destitute before his bayonets?

Let it be written down to the credit of the German Army — a German soldier blushed.

The Czechs, the reporters said, covered their faces with their hands as the German troops passed by. Was it to hide the sight of their 'conquerors'? Or was it something else that impelled the gesture? Was it the counterpart of the German soldier's blush? The face of democracy is hidden in its hands lest the world see upon it the stricken look of cowardice, the bitter look of self-disdain.

What way out of this self-disdain? Obviously, the New Heroism. For there are, amongst the Czechs, those weaker and more helpless even than they! The racial and political minorities! Therefore, turn upon them and demonstrate in the face of the German soldiers that the manly instinct is not yet dead even in the democratic heart. Thus, they hurl over the frontiers not, of course, the invading hosts but the most defenseless of their

own citizenry, flinging them out of the careening sleigh to appease the howling wolves.

None escapes the New Heroism! Did not Mr. Chamberlain send Lord Runciman to scold the Czechoslovak warmongers? The British Empire demonstrated that it could use all its vast power to assist in the subjugation of that dangerous republic of fifteen million souls. Afterward the conquering hero, returning from his dangerous plane ride, had flowers strewn in his path. Thus, today, are heroes made.

Mother, you didn't raise your boy to be a soldier? That was your great mistake. You want to preserve his life? You want him to be safe, do you not? Then, by all means, bring him up to be his country's warrior, so that he may safely invade against snowballs.

Do not encourage him to remain a civilian! Above all, do not encourage him to be in any sense a non-conformist. Asleep in his bed, he may be bombed from the air! Brave in his opinions, he may be sent wandering throughout the world! Encumbered with a religion or the wrong grandmother, he may rot in a concentration camp.

But in a uniform, helmeted and armed, accompanied by a tank, or aloft in a tri-motored bombing plane, he is safe to massacre babies — we do not forget Guernica — or to take a city where his only annoyance may be the song in the snowy streets of a soon-to-be-forgotten air.

Train him, if he is a believer in democracy, to retreat in close formation crowned with laurel leaves and under umbrellas.

And if he chooses the more heroic rôle, to march forward over bodies prostrated before he moves.

Teach him that this is the new peace and the new chivalry of heroes of the great white Gentile race.

Busily, busily our own new conquerors are being trained. Trained by a million nasty little leaflets about the menace in our midst.

The menace is not unemployment, skulduggery, political buffoonery, racketeering in high places and low, windy platitudes to meet solid problems, greedy hands in the public purse, pressure groups of the right and pressure groups of the middle and pressure groups of the left all nicely manipulated by public-relations counsels to seek their own ends at the cost of everybody else.

The menace is not our ignorance, and fear, and disunity. Not at all.

The menace is not the agents of the new barbarism, craftily using the instruments of the legal state and the privileges of civil liberties to prepare the way for a reign of permanent violence.

The menace is some five million of our citizens who happen to have the wrong ancestors. Let us turn upon them, make life miserable for them, create a vast miasmic apprehension about them, ruin their economic existences, read them out of the professions in order that the rest of us — one hundred and twenty-odd millions — may live the life of heroes in order and security. 'They' are to blame. Not, by any calculation, we, too. Just 'they.'

It was for this, mother, that you told your little boy stories of the Father of his country who could not tell a lie. It was for this that you taught him about Valley Forge and Appomattox. It was for this that you recounted to him the story of Saint George and the Dragon, of Don John of Austria against the Turks, of Wilhelm Tell, of the Miller and Frederick the Great, of King Arthur and his Round Table. It was for this that you read him the words of John of Gaunt in 'Richard II' and the words of Brutus in 'Julius Caesar.' It was for this that we wrote the heroic words on the Plymouth Rock monument; it was for this that we battled with the wilderness:

That your child might slip out in the dark to stick a nasty poster on the clothing shop of some American villager whose father came from Poland and who has done no man harm. That

with a keen, appraising eye he may heroically observe which boy in his class is the most nervous and frightened and then attack him with manly vigor.

Oh, happy, and heroic breed of men! The twentieth century salutes you. For this the world has been struggling up out of the mire for thousands and thousands of years! For this, man got up from all fours to walk, most acrobatically upright, that his head might be higher than his feet.

Sometimes, of course, in curious atavism, a rapidly disappearing physiological phenomenon, a vestige of a previous plodding race, manifests itself. The soldier blushes. But do not be alarmed. Today's blush will pass in tomorrow's plunder. Today's qualm in tomorrow's pogrom. Up and at them, heroes! Women and children first!

March 20, 1939

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

February 7, 1939

1,300,000 Refugees Enter France; Army Orderly as It Leaves Spain — Soldiers, Peasants, 'White Collar' Workers Among Hordes Crossing Frontier — Almost All Placed in Concentration Camps.

New York Times

March 29, 1939

MADRID YIELDS, ENDING WAR; VICTORS ENTER UNRESISTED; REPUBLICAN LEADERS FLEE — BURGOS SOUNDS A WARNING — Tells Democracies to Keep Hands Off — Valencia Said to Plan Surrender.

The Franco Victory

OF ALL the events that have happened in Europe in the last months, it is my belief that the victory of General Franco in Spain will turn out to be the most critical event for Great Britain, France and, eventually, by way of South America, for the United States.

There have been several views on Spain. There is the predominant Catholic view — held by almost all Catholics all over the world, although there have been minority opinions even inside the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholic view has presented the war in Spain as essentially a struggle between religion and atheism, and between an orderly Catholic social order and Communism.

Liberal thought has tended to regard the struggle as between Democracy and Fascism, with Spanish Communists and other radical groups supporting a Left-wing republic, and with the out-

rages against the Church as temporary aberrations of a revolutionary situation.

Conservatives have considered General Franco as a protector of private property, and Spanish industrialists have given Franco support for this reason.

Back of it all, however, has loomed the question of power politics.

Russia's interest in Spain has indicated either that Stalin has not completely abandoned the idea of Soviet Russia as the instrument of the world Communist revolution, or that he wants to bring pressure on France or Britain.

Russia as a nation, and not as the center of the world Communist movement, has only a remote interest in Spain. There are no vital Russian interests on the Mediterranean.

Russia as a nation, however — as any nation, whether under a czar or under a Communist dictator, or with any other form of social and political organization — is and would be anxious not to see the economic and political power of Germany increased as long as Germany has open designs on Russian territory.

Great Britain and France, and particularly Great Britain, have taken the official view that the war in Spain was a social struggle, that its outcome was no concern of theirs and that when it was over they would come to terms with whoever was victor.

The British confidence that this could be done has rested on the perennial British confidence in the power of money. The Conservative government has argued that when Franco had won he would be in a bad way financially, and could then be made amenable to British and French policy by generous loans.

The British and French have also counted on the disparate elements inside the Franco front; they have hoped for the eventual defeat of the Falangists before the more conservative elements in Franco's ranks, and they have argued that a strongly national-

ist Spain would immediately get rid of foreign influence once it had consolidated its domestic power.

This viewpoint appears not to take into account the revolutionary nature of international Fascism, and the fact that the Fascintern is now consolidated into a movement with a world policy directed from Berlin, as the Comintern is directed from Moscow.

Hypnotized by the fear of the Comintern, British and French public leaders have most obstinately refused to see the facts about the Fascintern.

Meanwhile, the Comintern gets nowhere, and the Fascintern takes strategic point after strategic point.

It is entirely possible that every Italian soldier may leave Spain. But it is extremely probable that Spain will join the Berlin-Rome Axis.

The weight of the Axis is in Germany, and Mussolini himself is, since the conquest of Austria, taking his directions from there. It is my belief — a belief in which I hope I shall be disappointed and proved wrong — that General Franco will take *his* directions from there.

The German penetration in Spain is much less conspicuous than the Italian and much more important. Germany penetrates not by way of armed divisions but by commercial agents who are at the same time political commissars.

The German interest in Spain is, in the first line, economic. In the second line, it is collaborating with Italy there for military and strategic reasons.

The Germans have already obtained — and obtained in a very inconspicuous way — control over the most vital resources of the country. Their organizing power, which is extremely efficient, is likely to hold these resources and even be of considerable value to General Franco. For Germany will guarantee a market, and though she pays in kind she will be able to pay with things that

Spain needs, even if some of the things are goods that she has bartered for in other countries and dumps in Spain below cost in return for Spanish ores and other raw materials.

The theory that money will always beat this system is not borne out either in logic or in experience. This system works, and the sooner the world realizes that it does work and is not economic nonsense the better off the world will be.

The idea that the present régimes of Germany and Italy, neither of which has shown any fiery enthusiasm for the Church, are in Spain as Defenders of the Faith cannot seriously be entertained.

One recalls the Farewell Address of George Washington — which is seldom quoted in its complete context — which said:

‘... It is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another. . . . It must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate on real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure and which a just pride ought to discard.’

Franco has received enormous favors from Italy and Germany — without them he would not have won this civil war, or certainly not by now. He is infinitely weaker than they are, and the idea that he can accomplish what neither France nor Britain is willing to undertake seems to me to be plain wishful thinking.

This will affect us in the United States directly and indirectly. It will affect us directly because the orbit of the German economic system will be importantly extended. The amount of the globe whose commerce is controlled by totalitarian powers — under a system incompatible with any measure of free economy and under

a system with which it is extremely difficult for any other system of commerce to compete — is already imposing.

Furthermore, the distribution of American capital compels a certain amount of collaboration with this system at the cost of other American commercial interests.

For instance, the German Opel automobile is successfully competing with American cars in South America, although the Opel car is manufactured in Germany by General Motors, which purchased a controlling interest in the Opel Works under the German Republic. The profits from the sale of this car are not allowed to return to the United States, but must remain and be reinvested in Germany.

Similarly, Rumanian oil is not owned by Rumanians or by Germans, but by Standard Oil, Royal Dutch and British Shell. This does not mean, however, that these interests will be free under all political conditions to export oil as they please. They will have to operate in conformity with the new German-Rumanian treaty, and this will simply mean that American, Dutch and British capital will be helping to finance the economies of the dictatorships against which France, Great Britain and the United States are arming for defense.

In this sense — and in a great many others — we are arming the dictatorships, and they are certainly not in any sense arming us in return.

Indirectly, the outcome in Spain will have an enormous influence in South America, and this influence will not only be spread by commercial and propaganda agents of General Franco, but by commercial, propaganda and diplomatic agents of Germany, Italy and Japan, and it will be anti-United States.

Against this system the liberal democratic world has no adequate defense. It can build all the airplanes that it likes, its defenses are still inadequate. For it is not facing merely a combination of prodigious military power, which conceivably could

be overweighed, but it is facing the most effective revolutionary technique that has ever yet been devised in history — the *total* revolution, pushed forward not by classes but by whole nations; controlling every military, economic and mental resource; with every embassy and consulate, every commercial office, every separate business man, acting as an agent for the nation, the combination of nations and the revolution.

If conservatives would imagine for a moment that Germany had become Communist instead of Fascist and had won the whole nation to Communism and was in combination with three other Communistic nations situated in the most strategical positions amongst the continents of the globe, they might perhaps wake up to the fact that there *is* a menace to liberal democracy wherever it may still be alive and hopeful.

March 31, 1939

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

April 1, 1939

Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, speaking to the House of Commons on March 31, 1939: '... I now have to inform the House that ... in the event of any action which clearly threatens Polish independence ... His Majesty's government would feel themselves bound at once to lend the Polish government all the support in their power.'

Chamberlain and Alice

THERE is a reason why 'Alice in Wonderland' is pre-eminently the English classic. It is a tender and humorous glorification of the age of innocence.

Alice is the very well-brought-up, polite and extremely reasonable English child who finds herself in a world full of unreasonable foreigners — a world where the bottles labeled 'Drink Me' are not marked 'poison,' the way all bottles in the nursery medicine closet ought to be, and which, nevertheless, when you drink their contents, 'shut you up like a telescope.'

If the bottle had only been decently marked, as a proper English bottle would have been, Alice would not have drunk it, 'for she had read several nice little stories about children who had got burnt and eaten up by wild beasts and other unpleasant things, all because they *would* not remember the simple rules their friends had taught them; such as that a red-hot poker would burn you if you hold it too long, and that if you cut your finger *very* deeply with a knife it generally bleeds, and she had never forgotten that if you drink much from a bottle

marked "poison" it is almost certain to disagree with you sooner or later.'

However, as you remember, this bottle was not marked 'poison,' so Alice ventured to taste it, and 'finding it very nice (it had, in fact, a sort of mixed flavour of cherry tart, custard, pineapple, roast turkey, toffee, and hot buttered toast), she very soon finished it all.'

Now, what happened to Alice after that was that she became only a fraction of her former size, and since this sudden diminution made it impossible for her to do some of the things she very much wanted to do, she sat down and cried. But being a well-brought-up little English child, she took herself severely to task, saying, 'There is no use crying like that!'

And we learn that Alice was in the habit of scolding herself and even sometimes of boxing her own ears 'for having cheated herself in a game of croquet she was playing against herself, for this curious child was very fond of pretending to be two people. "But it's no use now," thought poor Alice, "to pretend to be two people! Why, there's hardly enough of me left to make one respectable person!"'

And you remember that, pulling herself together and seeing a box marked 'Eat Me,' Alice figured that she might as well eat it, 'for if it makes me grow larger I can reach the key, and if it makes me grow smaller I can creep under the door. So either way I can get into the garden.'

For those who find it difficult to understand Mr. Chamberlain I recommend a re-reading of the English classic.

Mr. Chamberlain followed the 'Drink Me' policy at Munich, and the 'Eat Me' policy in the House of Commons last week and this.

It is called the muddling-through policy when translated into political terms, and is totally ununderstandable to anything except an English mind. It is a combination of responsibility without reasoning.

It has its uses in English statesmen. I use the word 'English' advisedly. It is certainly not Scottish. And it is, above all, not Welsh or Irish. One can perfectly imagine Mr. Chamberlain at six as the masculine twin of Alice. One cannot imagine Mr. Lloyd George as anything but a very distant relative. Its usefulness is that the qualities of Alice — her niceness, her reasonability and her incredible foolishness — attract the English people.

If Alice makes a mistake it is because of her innocence, because she is really much too nice to live in a world full of falsely labeled bottles and boxes, perverted nursery rhymes, vicious old Father Williamises and ugly Duchesses. She is confused and misled, but in the end it all turns out to be a nightmare.

And she wakes up in her secure nursery, comforted by her tea, recalling the shriek of the gryphon, the choking of the suppressed guinea pigs and the distant sob of the miserable mock turtle as a fantastic experience.

Yes, Alice is beloved by England because of her unconquerable simplicity.

And so, strange as it may seem to any type of mind except the English, it is extremely probable that Mr. Chamberlain is stronger in his leadership because he turned out to be wrong than he would have been had he been always right.

At any rate, as the result of making incredible blunders, one has Monday's spectacle in the House of Commons, where an entire nation, from the Labor Opposition to the most Bourbon Tories, is united behind the counterpart of Alice.

Perhaps this uncoerced unity, which has been convinced not by using its reason but purely empirically, will turn out to be of more importance to history than all the lost strategical bases. Perhaps, to paraphrase another English poet, there is some method in this madness. For mad it certainly appears to be.

The nation which was not prepared to defend Czechoslovakia, a country which had meticulously kept all of its international

engagements, is now prepared to defend Poland, a country which has pursued a most dubious diplomatic course and which is at least as difficult to defend.

Some will look for every explanation except the simple one. But I am inclined to believe that the simple explanation is the true one.

It is very difficult to believe that when Chamberlain went to Munich he did not know that he was giving Hitler a free hand in the east and that he did not know exactly what giving that free hand would mean. But since Mr. Chamberlain is English it is possible that he really thought that Hitler would behave like an Englishman and take what he wanted in such a way as not to shock and horrify the world and stop at the right moment.

I doubt whether Mr. Chamberlain has ever in his life met anybody who was not either just a gentleman or a 'gentleman in trade.' But Hitler is neither a gentleman nor a trader.

I am inclined to believe that when Mr. Chamberlain said, on the eve of Munich, 'If I were convinced that any nation had made up its mind to dominate the world by fear of its force, I should feel that it must be resisted,' he meant it — but didn't believe. Since then he has come to believe.

What has made him believe has been the *method* of Hitler. What has made him believe is the speed of Hitler.

If Chamberlain had ever read 'Mein Kampf' — which I am reasonably sure he has not done — he might have been aware a long time ago. But, being English, even that is doubtful. For the English mind believes only what it sees. It believes in the event, not in the plan.

And the German mind has its equal weakness. It believes in the plan and fails to observe the event.

That is perhaps one reason why Germany won all the first battles but lost the last war. It is not written in history that this will always be so, but it is curious that Hitler, who prides himself

on having invented something absolutely new in diplomacy and who attacked Wilhelm's Germany for its idiocy in making an enemy of England and Russia at the same time, has managed to repeat Wilhelm's mistakes.

April 5, 1939

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

April 22, 1939

BORAH DECLARES REAL NEUTRALITY IMPOSSIBLE
FOR US — People Have Judged 'Who is Aggressor'
and 'Who is Right,' Says Senator — DOUBTS 'IM-
PARTIAL' LAW.

Freedom of Action

THIS country wants peace, security and freedom to live its own life the way it wishes to live it. These three things may be compatible, but there are times in history when they are not. The second two are a definition of the first. The absence of war, accompanied by a condition of extreme insecurity and with the conditions of life dictated by somebody else or some other nation or some combination of nations, is not peace. It is either an armistice between wars or permanent slavery.

This country has a very good chance of maintaining peace, security and freedom to live in the kind of society we ourselves wish to make. The condition of our maintaining these three, which together mean real peace, is freedom of action. Therefore we ought to repeal the Neutrality Act. We ought not to repeal it because we want to make the world safe for democracy. We ought not to repeal it because we want to stand behind the British and French. We ought not to repeal it because we want to be the Galahad of the world.

We ought to repeal it because through it we restrict our own actions, in a world where we cannot possibly know what is going to happen from one day to the next.

We ought, in the second place, to maintain our freedom of action by making no definite commitments at this time.

The present British policy is still not at all clear. Both the British and the French are still being run by exactly the same people and exactly the same cabinets who are responsible for the present state of affairs in their countries. It is very difficult to have faith that France will pursue a straightforward policy as long as M. Bonnet is foreign minister, or that Britain may not in some fashion repeat the procedure of September as long as Mr. Chamberlain is prime minister and Sir John Simon and Sir Samuel Hoare are in the cabinet and Anthony Eden is not.

Chamberlain's attempt at this time to unite all the small countries and Russia in an anti-aggression front — that is to say, to restore the system of collective security which he, Sir John Simon and Sir Samuel Hoare did so much to destroy — may succeed. But Mr. Chamberlain's changing his mind does not automatically create a new situation. It puts the Poles *and* the Russians in a very strong bargaining position, and exactly what the Polish policy is, is not at all clear from reading the Polish press.

Officially, judging from the press, Poland is still playing both ends against the middle. We still do not know whether Chamberlain has purchased a few days or months of armistice or laid the foundations of a new system strong enough to maintain peace.

The editorial of the London *Times* which hints that some concessions might be made has been officially repudiated, but so was that other *Times* editorial suggesting that it might be a good thing to detach the Sudetenland — at the same time that Mr. Chamberlain was repeating his pledges to France and the French government was insisting on its intention of standing by Czechoslovakia.

There are two bills sponsored by Senator Pittman, and neither of them is wise. The provision that we should sell arms in time of war only to those nations that can pay cash and carry off the

goods relegates the foreign policy of this country to a very low point of the grossest materialism. As a piece of legislation representing any permanent policy it is a fake.

His other bill, proposing that our government undertake in government plants to manufacture munitions for South America, tends to get us into a most terrible jam, for it puts our government itself into the business of supplying arms to South American countries who may possibly become embroiled with one another. And it may at some future date be the cause of subjecting our government to enormous pressures from outside.

Nor can I whole-heartedly concur with the proposal that the President of the United States shall be given the power to decide who is and who is not an aggressor, and on that basis control the supply of arms.

In the world at present there is no longer any criterion as to what is and what is not aggression, because there is nothing remotely approaching international law.

And, again, our policy will be determined by our vital interests. If, for instance, we had unquestionable information that Germany intended to seize the Azores, I think our navy would believe it to be in our vital interest to get there first. But the German government would certainly regard this as an act of wanton, aggressive imperialism.

I agree with Mr. Stimson that the world is in the most serious crisis in at least four hundred years. It is not at all certain that it is not the most serious crisis since the collapse of the Roman Empire. For we are dealing with a combination of military aggression plus revolution. And the revolution is one that cuts itself off from such conceptions of the State as have not been challenged since the fourth century — not even by Napoleon — and which works with political and propaganda methods which are unique to the modern world.

In a time like this one is forced to live from day to day. There-

fore, it is suicidal to tie one's hands by legislation designed to deal with situations which cannot be foreseen. The Neutrality Act has already in its short existence been amended three times. It is safe to predict that if it is again amended it will be amended yet again and again — whenever some new situation arises.

Meanwhile, by the very nature of things, leadership in foreign affairs is, actually, in the hands of the President and the secretary of state. Day by day we take diplomatic action, Neutrality Act or no Neutrality Act, which leads us in a certain direction, and which will in the end be determining.

But while we live from day to day, the one rock on which our security stands is the maintenance of freedom of action. We ought to maintain that freedom on all three fronts: legislative, diplomatic and military.

Maintaining it on the legislative front means that we do not weaken our bargaining power or our competence to act quickly by tying our own hands by laws.

Maintaining it on the diplomatic front means that we do not make commitments in advance of a very exact knowledge of what we are committing ourselves to.

Maintaining it on the military front means that we adopt a policy and stick to it. That policy is determined, in the first place, by geography. Our immense advantage is to be a continental power on two oceans, with a northern neighbor with whom we have had no quarrel for more than a hundred years, and with such resources that we can certainly defend this continent and even this hemisphere.

We ought never to allow air bases to be established by any potentially hostile government within bombing distance from our shores, and if it is perfectly clear that any attempt to do so will most certainly evoke immediate action it is extremely unlikely that the attempt will ever be made.

But we are bound, again, in the nature of things, to entrust our

safety to our State Department and to our armed forces, always with the restraining influence of a public opinion that is hostile to sentimental adventures and inexorably opposed to permanent alliances as between states.

This does not mean that we will not or should not collaborate on occasion and in crises with those whose interests are synonymous at the moment with ours. Washington never recommended that we should always and on all occasions avoid temporary alliances. He recommended that we should make no alliances that we cannot change at our own will and in accordance with our own interests. In other words, he recommended freedom of action.

April 7, 1939

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

April 9, 1939

ITALIANS TAKE TIRANA, KING ZOG FLEES; BRITISH
STUDYING PLEDGE TO GREECE — NEW RULE
PLANNED — Rome Announces Pleas by Albanians
for King of Italy to Take Throne — CIANO ARRIVES
IN TIRANA — Mussolini is Expected to be There
Today or Tomorrow to Announce Next Step.

Rebirth at Easter

THE two general staffs consulted in Innsbruck, and immediately action followed. Mussolini chose Good Friday, the day commemorating the crucifixion of Christ, to bomb defenseless towns and machine-gun to death the people of one of the oldest white Caucasian races in Europe. General Franco chose Christmas Week as the time to begin his great offensive against Catalonia. The birth of Jesus was celebrated amongst exploding churches and the dismembered bodies of Christians. The Pope had asked for a Holy Truce during Christmas Week, but nobody listened.

There is an unconscious symbolism in all this. Or is it unconscious? Christianity is being done to death in this world. All that has flowed from Christianity in the centuries is being done to death: chivalry; respect for human rights; reverence for the human soul; democracy, which is the result of this concept; freedom, which is part of this concept; law; truth; education; civilization; honor.

A note comes to me, smuggled out of Czechoslovakia: 'Czechoslovakia is one great concentration camp.'

In Austria every gallant soul I have ever known — from the

highest aristocrat to the last intelligent trade-union leader — is dead, murdered or a suicide, or is in prison, in concentration camp or in exile.

There are people here, *émigrés*, who could tell the story. 'But don't quote me. My mother is still in Austria... in Germany. Or my sister; or my cousin. If I should speak...'

Terror. All over central Europe; in Asia; in Africa. The terror spreads; its objective is totality. The total terror is the international totalitarian 'state.'

Britain knows it at last. And France. Quickly, quickly they move to build up a system for mutual protection. It is very late. Did you think Poland would be attacked? Not this week. Not so far. Poland is dangerous since the new treaty with Britain. Rumania is still questionable. But there are gaps in the non-aggression front. Nobody thought about Albania. Albania is 'protected' by Italy. Albania has been 'protected' since the Council of Ambassadors, in 1921, gave Italy the right to guard the independence of Albania against Yugoslavs and Greeks. King Zog went somewhat further. His treaty with Italy gives him the right to call upon Italy for protection. The Treaty of Tirana was signed in 1926. (Perhaps that is what Mussolini's mouthpiece, Mr. Gayda, was referring to when he said that Zog himself petitioned Mussolini.) Its object was to prevent the infringement of the *status quo* by any other power. How clever of Mussolini to use it to infringe the *status quo* himself!

Why Albania? Yugoslavia is not yet in the non-aggression front. She may be squeezed before it is too late. Or Greece?

There is a lesson to be learned from all this. Sooner or later it must be learned by the whole world, including ourselves. Nothing is to be gained by thinking of how we can avoid war. Let us instead concentrate on thinking how we can secure for ourselves those rights which are the necessary condition of our freedom, our security, our prosperity, and thus our peace.

Shall we in the United States make precisely the same mistake as Britain during the last five years?

Shall we refuse to see and comprehend the nature of the forces at loose in the world?

Shall we believe as Britain did that what is happening so far away will not inevitably affect us, and fatefully?

The contemplation of the facts of life in this third decade of the twentieth century is an extremely unpleasant business. To call attention to them is not a sure path to popularity. Those who for the last three years have been saying consistently, and sometimes insistently, that our world is moving with extreme expedition in the direction of dissolution have been described as 'hysterical.'

The repetition of unpleasant facts has caused these people to be described as 'warmongers.' But the observation of a tendency is not equivalent to conjuring a result.

Events set in motion by the Nazi revolution six years ago have moved according to a pattern that could be predicted, and was predicted by a few statesmen in England, notably by Winston Churchill, and by a number of publicists, including most of the American foreign correspondents.

Until a few days ago the policy of the British and French governments was Mr. Micawber's. They believed that something would turn up; that nothing is eaten as hot as it is cooked; that the most dangerous revolutionists of centuries could be persuaded by kind words; that one might be able to make a compromise, or even a deal; and that at all events and under all circumstances war must be avoided.

This policy is a total failure. It has not brought about peace, neither for our times nor for a single year. It has put Germany and Italy in an incomparably stronger position than they were a year ago; and, in the end, this policy will mean that a great many more people will die than would otherwise have done so.

The same men who made this policy, against the advice of the 'hysterical' people at home, have been forced by the facts to turn and defend themselves, from a weakened position.

M. Bonnet believed in collaboration with Hitler; Mr. Chamberlain believed in collaboration with Hitler; Colonel Beck believed, until a few weeks ago, in collaboration with Hitler. All of them believed that the Nazi-Fascist movement, which is a combination of revolution and war, could be isolated.

This was an error. It was due to a totally false comprehension of the twentieth-century revolution.

Terrorism is enormously effective. Hitler — to whom Mussolini is playing second fiddle today — is a past master at achieving a maximum effect of terrorization with a minimum of expense to himself.

He is not crazy. He is certainly a constitutional psychopath. But the trouble with Hitler is with his emotions, not with his brains. The idea that he might go mad at any moment and bring down the world in ruins has been sedulously cultivated by himself for its terrorizing effects. The repeated pogroms are acts of terror designed to intimidate. His holding of hostages is an act of terror designed to intimidate.

He succeeded in Germany by terror; in Austria by terror; in Czechoslovakia by terror; and the final triumph of his terrorization is that he has set the whole world, including the Congress of the United States, into a panicky fear of war and into a blind scramble to tie our own hands for fear we might become involved in it.

It was planned that way.

Now, this country is not in any immediate danger of armed conflict, and this fear ought, therefore, for the time being, to be dismissed from our minds. Let us deal with it when and if it becomes imminent, and now, without any fear at all, consider the facts of life.

The facts of life are that the world order of which we are an integral part has been consistently assaulted for the last five years. There is already an undeclared world war, and we are already involved in it. We have failed to recognize this fact because this is a different sort of war, with different sorts of weapons. And because we fail to see clearly and are in a panic about the possibility of armed conflict, we are not defending ourselves with new weapons, designed to meet contemporary facts and not designed to meet the facts of twenty years ago.

The first and most effective weapons of Nazi-Fascism are political and economic. Armed force is held in the background as a threat to be employed only against the weak and defenseless; it will be used against the strong if victory is certain.

The political weapon is dual. It challenges the whole theory of national sovereignty and the nation's right in its own citizens. That weapon is already being used against every sovereign state in the world, including our own.

The second political weapon challenges the traditional practice of the rights of foreigners on our soil and the traditional activities of consular and diplomatic agents in time of peace. That weapon is already being used, everywhere and against us.

The economic weapon challenges the world-wide system of money economy, of which we are a part, and is directed exactly as much against the United States as it is against any other country on earth.

And far from taking any measures to deal with these several challenges, we are accepting them and even collaborating with them. The world-wide Nazi-Fascist revolution, with or without armed conflict, is being financed by its victims; it is being furthered by the laws of its victims; it is being assisted by the police forces of its victims.

It cannot be dealt with at this stage by arms, but it can be dealt with by its own weapons — namely, political and economic weapons.

It is entirely within the possibility of this country to deal with this challenge, provided we clearly understand the technique of the Nazi-Fascist revolution.

It is more important to act in the framework of the existing struggle than it is to build airplanes to deal with the potential struggle.

But unless we deal with it, the history of the last three years certainly indicates that eventually we shall have to face it with many more airplanes than we have at present, unless we are prepared to go down in history without any struggle at all.

April 10, 1939

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

April 16, 1939

ROOSEVELT ASKS DICTATORS FOR TEN-YEAR PEACE;
BERLIN SEES REJECTION; INCREDIBLE, SAYS ROME.
President Roosevelt asked Chancellor Hitler and
Premier Mussolini in identical messages yesterday
to pledge ten years of peace. If they did this he
would bring about a world conference for disarmament
and to give all nations access to needed raw
materials and products.

New York Herald Tribune

April 16, 1939

Congress Views Vary Widely on Roosevelt Plea.

The Crisis

I THINK there is no question that the President's dramatic week-end move was precipitated by knowledge of a very acute crisis. Mr. Knickerbocker, of the Hearst press, who is an exceptionally well-informed foreign correspondent, reported on April 17 that President Roosevelt had received a verbatim transcript of a conversation between Hitler and one of his most trusted aides, ostensibly disclosing the Fuehrer's real ambition.

The Fuehrer is reported to have said: 'I intend to take the whole of Czechoslovakia and by autumn to have brought into a great National Socialist federation — under the leadership of the Reich — Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, and possibly Turkey. The countries which willingly consent will be welcome; those which resist will be crushed.'

The Fuehrer counted on being able to neutralize Soviet Russia, and, protected at his rear, he would then be able to attack France

and Britain. He counted on a short war which would end in the delivery of the British and French fleets to the Germans.

The last stage would be the establishment of a Pax Germanica in the West, with an overpowering sea force. With the aid of Japan, America would be next in line.

Utterly fantastic as this program sounds, it is my belief that it closely approximates what is, or has been, in the minds of the Axis powers.

For weeks there have been leaks to disclose some such program. The extreme nervousness of the Netherlands, a nation which is not given to hysteria, has indicated that that nation has expected a possible 'token occupation' while Japan struck at the Dutch East Indies.

The Swiss, who are also certainly not hysterical by nature, have been completely prepared for months for war in the West.

And the whole program of Hitler, as envisaged, written down and supported for fifteen years, has been world power.

The alliance with Italy can make sense, from Mussolini's point of view, only in the contemplation of war in the West, for Mussolini has made enormous sacrifices to Hitler.

Gone is the influence in central and eastern Europe which he spent years in building up, and which was exemplified in the Pact of Rome, under which Italy, until the conquest of Austria, enjoyed special political and trade privileges in Austria and Hungary, and for which, after the assassination of Dollfuss, Mussolini was actually willing to go to war with Hitler.

The enormous German and Italian activities in South America; the unrelenting intransigence over Spain; the fact that the Germans and Italians are at this moment in possession of the most strategical military points in Spain, and in control of a large part of the Spanish economy; and the report that Germany has sent two or three pocket battleships with cruisers and submarines to Spanish ports, indicating that Germany has learned a lesson from

the last war and does not intend to be bottled up in the North Sea and the Baltic; the sudden seizure by Italy of Albania, strategically important as a point from which to squeeze both Yugoslavia and Greece, are all parts of the picture.

And the sudden sending of the American fleet back to the Pacific was certainly not done without the Navy's advice, and the Navy has perhaps the best intelligence department which we possess.

Major George Fielding Eliot's article in the April *Current History* calls attention to the importance of the new German Navy and its collaboration with the German air force.

Analyzing the composition of the new German fleet, Major Eliot comes to the conclusion that it cannot possibly be intended as an instrument against the Soviets and that it is indeed 'perfectly silly to contend, as German official explanations have attempted to contend, that it is for use against Russia.' There is no conceivable use for any such force of submarines in the Russian-German naval situation.

'The submarine,' says Major Eliot, 'has its principal use in the field of commerce-destroying.' The nation which possesses sea-borne commerce which is vital to her, and without which she cannot live, is Britain.

And Major Eliot recalls the *Emden* and the enormous damage which that single German cruiser did before she was finally brought to boot by forty searchers.

He thinks that the German Navy today, being precisely adapted to a *specific purpose* and a *specific enemy*, is far more dangerous than the German Navy in 1914.

No one can contend that a world war fought on the major sea lanes of the world is of no concern to the United States of America, or that the possible victory of Italy, Germany and Japan, the two former powers united in a revolutionary philosophy hostile to everything that this country has ever stood for, could be a matter

of indifference to the United States; or that, given such an outcome, this country would be safe.

If, then, the President uses every possible diplomatic instrument to avert a world war, by warning, by clarifying the issue, by suggesting conciliation in advance of it, it seems that he ought to be strongly supported, regardless of other political differences.

Actually, apart from its drama and suddenness, which gave it a sensational aspect, there is nothing in the President's message to the world which is not completely consistent with the policy of the United States ever since the World War.

The drama and sensationalism are necessitated by the way in which modern politics is played. No democratic nation was the inventor of this new international politics.

But the United States has, for twenty years, participated in every attempt to bring about disarmament.

The secretary of state under Coolidge was a co-author of the Pact of Paris, under which the nations of the world gave a solemn covenant not to resort to war as an instrument of national policy.

The United States did not ratify the Treaty of Versailles and is not committed to the maintenance of the *status quo* anywhere, but unless all our words for twenty years have been merely pious platitudes — and if they are we should stop uttering them, for there is no place in the world at present for platitudes — then we are committed by word on word and deed on deed to opposing invasion and aggression as a means of rectifying injustices.

The President's move was a brilliant stroke of diplomacy, and if anything can stop a catastrophe which has been approaching visibly for years it will be an active policy and not a passive one.

April 19, 1939

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Herald Tribune *March 27, 1939*

British Anger Found Rising Against Hitler —
Crusading Zeal is Lacking but People are Ready for
War if it Comes.

New York Times *April 27, 1939*

BRITAIN TO DRAFT 200,000 YOUTHS OF TWENTY IN
THREE-YEAR 'TEMPORARY' PLAN, CALLING UP FIRST
LOT IN 2 WEEKS — Chamberlain Puts Plan to House
and Notifies Germany, Italy and U.S. — Early
Approval Sure over Labor Protest — Six Months'
Duty Provided, with War Profits Curb, Secret
Mobilization.

The Fateful Decision of Britain

It is impossible to grasp, on first thought, the full significance of what has happened in Great Britain. It amounts to hardly less than a social revolution. And it is difficult to believe that whether there is actual armed conflict or its only alternative — a prolonged crisis looking toward a negotiated international settlement — the social order will ever again be quite what it was in the birthplace of political freedom and the home of the Mother of Parliaments. For the processes of history are rarely reversed, however much they may be modified.

The British government is adopting conscription and establishing a ministry of supply, which together mean nothing less than the total mobilization of the nation's resources — its man power, its industries, its capital and its labor.

The proposed budget is staggering. For 1939 it amounts to

£1,322,000,000, or about \$6,500,000,000. It represents a full third of the total British national income.

Furthermore, it is to be raised chiefly by taxation — by increased rates on motor cars, tobacco, sugar; and by higher death duties and surtaxes. The Athens of western Europe is subjecting itself to Spartan measures.

The tax on automobiles jumps by $66\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. It means that the owner of a Ford will pay \$185 yearly. It may discourage the manufacture of automobiles in favor of armaments. Income tax goes up 5 per cent from its present high level on incomes between \$10,000 and \$40,000, and 10 per cent for those above.

There are several reasons for this. One is necessity. International capitalism is in no such blooming condition as it was in 1914. There are no such sources of savings and international credit; no expectation of great international loans.

But perhaps the most important reason is the enormously increased democratization of Great Britain in the last generation and the increased sense of social justice.

The method of credit inflation and war profits will not be tolerated side by side with the conscription of men's lives, in the face of more hazardous risks for the whole population, including women and children, than ever before.

The modern war is total war, from which no class, no group, even no age is wholly exempted. Great Britain and France face states that have been totally mobilized for years. There is no other alternative, if they are to be faced, than the one Great Britain has taken, of facing totality with totality.

On first thought, one will say — this is the totalitarian state. Granted that the emergency forced it; granted that there was no alternative — this is National Socialism.

But it is National Socialism with prodigious differences. The unity which has been enforced upon the Germans by a new mystic of the State, accompanied there by the terrorism of a vast

secret police, the substitution of courts of justice by star-chamber party proceedings, the ruthless combing-out of political and racial minorities, and a personal-party dictatorship, has formed itself in Great Britain out of the greatest emergency in British history since the Norman Conquest, out of the clear realization that Britain, whose navy and geography have assured her isolation for centuries, is today, in the era of the airplane, one of the most vulnerable of all nations — forty-odd million people on an island, within a bombing distance from the Continent that can be reckoned in minutes.

Unlike Germany, England has the oldest existing tradition of political liberty. It is deeply Christian. The class struggle has never reached on British soil the proportions which it reached in Germany. The measures now adopted are taken wholly for the defense of the British Isles, the French Republic and the small nations of the Continent.

And the popular spirit which supports them has come reluctantly, the more imposing because of its reluctance, out of hostility to the basic *spirit* of Naziism — its terror, its persecutions, its suppression of all free thought, its cynical contempt for the world and the signed treaty and its open justification of aggression. These facts *must* influence the course of British action if Britain is to keep the unity she now has.

The British conscription will call men for six months' training, whereupon they enter the territorial reserves. There will be exemptions for individuals, or anticipation or postponement of training when good cause is shown. Conscientious objectors will be exempted, provided they undertake other work of national importance. The Liberal and Labor Oppositions will continue to function as modifying influences.

And the British government will continue to press for negotiations and peace. But it is no longer in the position it was in at Munich. There will not be another dictated peace.

The morale in Britain and France at this moment is very impressive, inestimably better than the morale in Germany.

Their moral position is inestimably stronger.

The conquest of Czechoslovakia is not popular in Germany. The Germans are not Huns and savages. They are people with deeply troubled souls. The strength of Hitler has been the moral strength of the German sense of injustices done them. By every injustice that Hitler himself has done to others — by the betrayal of the Austrians, even of the Austrian Nazis — by the compounded betrayal of Munich, by the treacherous theft of a whole nation which every German knows is in no sense German — he has enormously augmented his war reserves, but he has demoralized his own people.

And therewith he has weakened his greatest reserve.

The terror inside Germany has steadily increased since Czechoslovakia, and the reason is plain. The November pogroms, the conquest of Prague in March, the sudden revealing of his hand in the ultimatums to Poland and Rumania have revolted thousands of Germans.

It is a great mistake to underrate the power of ideas in this world. They raise regiments when reason and self-interest fail; they demobilize peoples as well as mobilize them.

The moral force behind Hitler inside and outside of Germany was opposition to the Versailles Treaty. It is spent the moment the victim becomes the victimizer.

The spirit of revenge in Germany has long since been dissipated on the persecution of German dissenters and Jews. The bad conscience of the rest of the world about the Versailles Treaty, which has been Hitler's strongest foreign ally, disappears at the prospect of another Versailles treaty, and a more ruthless one.

Thoughtful Germans know this. In German universities selected groups of students are being told by their teachers that the taking of Czechoslovakia was contrary to National Socialist

policy and was a crime that history will have to make good to clear the name of the German people. And men are going to concentration camps for saying this kind of thing.

The strongest part of President Roosevelt's plea to Hitler and Mussolini are the words, 'I refuse to believe that the world is, of necessity, a prisoner of destiny.' He made a clear, constructive proposal that if the governments now mobilized in their totality will lay aside their guns to arbitrate their differences, the government of the United States will take part in the discussions looking toward a more practical manner of opening up the trade channels of the world and reorganizing its economy.

April 28, 1939

The Triumph of Rationalization

THE justification that Hitler advanced for the incorporation of Bohemia and Moravia into the Reich fully explains the extreme nervousness of the Poles and their reluctance to yield an inch on the present claims for a settlement of Danzig and a road through the Corridor. Hitler's arguments (in the April 28 speech) were nine:

1. Bohemia and Moravia were from the earliest times part of the Reich or bound up with and subject to its sovereignty.
2. They belong to the 'living space' of Germany and to a natural economic unit.
3. The crowded condition of this area demands the highest intensity of work, and consequently of order.
4. The rights of Czech nationalism have been preserved.
5. In the course of migrations, Germanic tribes originally settled in this area, but were pushed out by alien Slavs.
6. From the economic viewpoint the independence of the Czech state was impossible, once the Sudetenland was removed.
7. Czech culture was formed and molded by German influences.

8. Czechoslovakia was an arsenal for the western powers and a bridge between them and Bolshevik Russia.

9. The conquest was a recognition of historical necessity and economic exigency.

On the basis of these arguments not only is the total destruction of Poland also 'justified,' but these, supplemented by other rationalizations of the speech, furnish an apology in advance for the conquest of everything east of the Rhine and, within equal reason, for everything on the Continent of Europe.

The Reich that Hitler is speaking of now as having a historic claim to Bohemia and Moravia is not the German Reich but the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He does not quibble with such trifles as the fact that the Austro-Hungarian Empire was never in history a German national state, but was a dual monarchy held together in a federation by a dynasty and by the tradition of the Holy Roman Empire.

It is, indeed, the Holy Roman Empire, or even perhaps its predecessor, the empire of Charlemagne, that Hitler is claiming as the unit for his coming empire.

For how else can one interpret the following remarkable statement? 'The present Greater Reich contains no territory that was not from earliest history part of this Reich or subject to its sovereignty. Long before an American continent had been discovered this Reich existed, not merely in its present extent, but with the addition of many regions and provinces which have since been lost.'

This 'First Reich' was the Holy Roman Empire, which was the successor to the Pan-European empire of Charlemagne, and existed from the accession of Otto I, a Saxon king, in the tenth century, until it was broken up by the Reformation and the Renaissance! It was also built on a German-Rome axis, a combination of remains of the Roman Imperium which had been kept alive by the Church, and of German feudalism.

At a later point in the speech — in a part of it addressed to Great Britain — he made this even clearer: 'The English people rule a great empire. Previously Germany had been a great empire. At one time Germany ruled the Occident.'

Well, the only time that Germany ruled the Occident was from the tenth century to the sixteenth. Of course, it was not 'Germany' that ruled, because this was before the rise of nationalism. A Germanic king ruled over other princes in collaboration with the popes.

And in that time 'Germany' ruled not only Bohemia and Moravia and all the territories east of the Rhine, but everything from Spain to Poland and from Hamburg to Rome. On this argument Hitler has as good a claim to rule France as to rule Czechoslovakia.

All that he has to do to include Great Britain is to pass the argument to Rome and demand the revival of the Roman Empire combined with the Holy Roman Empire. Bring in Columbus and the Spanish end of an axis, and he could claim North America!

In view of this announcement, which has the merit of candor, the Poles must know exactly where they stand on the assumption that they are next in line.

If Hitler is trying to reconstitute this 'First Reich' he can claim most of Poland.

'Living space' is whatever Hitler decides that it ought to be. In 'Mein Kampf' he speaks of a contiguous empire of a quarter of a billion people, which means that he must take in more non-Germans than there are inhabitants of the United States.

The argument that 'the crowded condition of the area demands the highest intensity of work, and consequently of order,' is an argument for making it all Nazi.

What 'rights of nationalism' means under Hitler we can learn from Bohemia and Moravia, where the Czechs are not 'citizens' of the Reich, but a sort of helot-subject; their national rights are

considerably less than they had under the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where they had their own parliament!

The fifth argument has not a shred of historical truth. A large part of Germany was built upon the conquest of Slavs; the very word 'Prussia' comes from Borussia, and the Wendish names in many parts of Prussia indicate Slavic origins. The concept of 'alien Slavs' in Bohemia is breath-taking. It is another of those 'gigantic lies' which Hitler praises in 'Mein Kampf' — for their effectiveness with the simple-minded.

The argument that Czechoslovakia had no possibility of economic independence once she began to be dismembered tells the Poles precisely where they stand.

If Germany gets Danzig, she can throw whatever agreement she may make about protecting Polish economic rights in that harbor into the wastebasket. Inasmuch as the port of Danzig clears two-thirds of the Polish commerce, the possibility of Polish economic independence will be greatly lessened.

If Germany gets the strip of land across Pomorze which she claims for access to East Prussia, Poland is utterly lost. For that so-called motor road — envisaged as a strip seventeen miles wide — will cut her off from her only other seaport, Gdynia, and argument six will then be applied to Poland.

Germany is not 'cut off' from East Prussia. She can reach it by sea in a few minutes. Given decent relations, she can reach it by road or rail over Polish territory — as we reach Detroit from Buffalo over Canadian territory. The argument for demanding a strip of land connecting the United States with Alaska is equally valid!

As for a nation's 'culture,' it is whatever Hitler decides it to be. The 'culture' of Bohemia was greatly influenced by its predominantly Hussite religion; it shared the culture of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was very different from the Prussian; and in the last twenty years it has been greatly influenced by the

ideas of freedom, which were Anglo-Saxon and American. The 'culture' of Poland is Slavic, German, French and, curiously enough, Polish . . . but what is a word?

Argument eight means that if any small nation tries to protect itself by a treaty of friendship and non-aggression with another power, it is an 'arsenal' for that country.

We are actually asked to believe that it was Czechoslovakia that was threatening Germany, rather than the other way around, and one wonders why Czechoslovakia let all those years elapse, when she was armed and Germany was not, and did not attack and attempt to annex Germany during the great breakdown of the German inflation in 1923.

And argument nine is good for any aggression, anywhere, any time.

There was one other argument: that Germany did the Czechs a friendly service by persuading them not to resist, because if they had, Czechoslovakia would certainly have been destroyed, in a most dreadful blood bath.

That remains the truly effective argument, and needs no rationalization. Without aid, they certainly would have been razed to the ground. So, argue the Germans, will the Poles.

Readers of 'Alice in Wonderland' will recognize the Hitler argument. It was addressed by the Carpenter to the Oysters:

'Oh, Oysters,' said the Carpenter,
 'You've had a pleasant run!
 Shall we be trotting home again?'
 But answer came there none —
 And this was scarcely odd, because
 They'd eaten every one.

Hitler is more like the lachrymose Walrus than like the Carpenter.

'I like the Walrus best,' said Alice, 'because he was a *little* sorry for the poor oysters.'

Hitler is a *little* sorry for all the peoples he plans to gobble up. For war would devastate the territory he wants to add to the Reich and use up armaments that he wants to 'confiscate' in order to prevent them from doing harm. Doing harm, of course, to him.

May 3, 1939

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

May 5, 1939

LITVINOV QUILTS SOVIET POST; MOLOTOV FOREIGN MINISTER: ILL HEALTH IS CITED — Commissar Relieved of Post at Own Request, It is Announced — NO CHANGE IN POLICY SEEN — Russians Taken by Surprise — Premier Assumes Portfolio and Will Hold Two Posts.

As Litvinov Goes

THE shrewd victor will, if possible, keep imposing his demands on the vanquished by degrees. He can then, in dealing with a nation which has lost its character — and this means every nation which submits voluntarily — count on its never finding in any one act of oppression adequate ground for taking up arms once more.

For the more exactions which have been willingly endured, the less justifiable does it seem to them to resist at the last because of a new and apparently isolated . . . imposition, especially when so much more and such greater misfortune, taken together, has already been accepted submissively and with silence. — Adolf Hitler, from 'Mein Kampf.'

THE above program has been methodically pursued, and the end is not yet.

The *Times* of London, which played so important an 'appeasement' rôle during the Czechoslovakian crisis, is asking whether Danzig is worth fighting for. After that it will probably ask whether a German road through the Corridor is worth fighting for. After that there will be nothing worth fighting for so far as Poland is concerned, because Poland will be surrounded and it will be impossible to save her in any case.

If Poland goes, the persecutions which will follow absorption into the German orbit will surpass in fury anything that has happened in Czechoslovakia.

Social unrest in all countries will be greatly accelerated and will lead, in all countries, to governmental suppressions.

Arms will accumulate everywhere; militarism will flourish; but the fear of facing and conjoining the issue abroad will eventually lead to the arms' being used to suppress the populations at home.

This is what Hitler, the revolutionary arm of the German plan for world domination, counts on.

The attitude of the two revolutionaries, Hitler and Stalin, is not basically unlike.

Both are counting in their plans the revolutionary implications of the present condition of affairs: the breakdown of international capitalism; the bankruptcy of the democratic method; the despair of the unemployed; the futile irritation of the industrialists; the muddle-headedness of democratic politicians; the disillusion of the middle classes; the confusion of the intellectuals; the desire for peace, which has degenerated into pacifism and do-nothingness — into a scramble to escape the storm, to seek cover, however temporarily, in the philosophy of Mr. Micawber.

The contribution of Communism to the nihilism of democratic despair has been to shear humanism off democracy, to reduce the concept of democracy to crass materialism, to interpret life in terms of bread alone.

The Nazis, as anti-humanistic as the Communists, have elevated the Communist Have-Not doctrine into a war cry for the Have-Not states.

They also sing, 'We have been naught, we shall be all.'

The old Pan-German dream of the superstate which will rule the whole world comes out again, equipped with the force of a completely regimented opinion, as the world force for order, for total solution — in the total dissolution of national independences and of freedom everywhere.

In London the Soviet ambassador, who returned only four days ago from Moscow, admits that he does not know what the replacing of Litvinov by Molotov may mean.

Perhaps before these lines appear we shall know more clearly. For we shall have heard how Colonel Beck, the Polish prime minister, answers Hitler's demands.

What the change certainly does *not* mean is the official Soviet explanation — that Litvinov is ill and tired and asked to be relieved of his duties. Russian officials take orders. They do not ask to be relieved of anything.

Litvinov is through. He represented the Russian policy of *rapprochement* with the western democracies.

His retirement on the eve of Colonel Beck's declaration means one of two things: either Russia has decided to become isolationist — which means she has decided to come to terms with Hitler regarding everything except her own frontiers — or a last-minute pressure is being brought to bear upon Britain and France to conclude an outright military alliance.

It is probable that both motives are combined in the Russian move. It amounts to saying, 'Cut bait or we quit fishing.' If Britain refuses the hard-and-fast alliance, Poland is lost, Rumania will go, the Nazis will be on the Black Sea soon and France and England will be next on the program.

Soviet Russia is prepared to wait for the eventual great ideological war. Her tactic will be to give Hitler a free hand in the West.

Eventually, then, there will either be war, with Britain and France in an appallingly disadvantageous position, or there will be a peace of compromise. The peace of compromise would mean a compromise on the German terms. Those terms would mean a trade deal, the suppression of all anti-Nazi activities, the opportunity, therefore, for the triumph of the Nazi ideology. And the trade deal would be directed against the United States everywhere in the world, and especially in South America.

This kind of thinking is taking a long view, in which one must also count the imponderables, such as the effect of prolonged depression upon restless social forces; the inevitable necessity for National Socialism to move very far to the Left; the possible revolt of the people everywhere against dawdling tactics of their leaders.

But to take a long view is fundamentally undemocratic, for democracy in this degenerate age has become the philosophy of hand-to-mouth.

May 5, 1939

The Revolution of Nihilism *

AS THE disposition of Danzig is being discussed, a book has come at last to my hands for which I have been waiting. It has not yet been translated into English and I hope it will be got out at once.

Its author was formerly president of the Danzig Senate. He is a German landowner. He is not a Jew. He is not a Communist. He is a German patriot. He does not believe in the Treaty of Versailles or in the post-war system represented in the League of Nations and Franco-British hegemony. He is a German Nationalist who wants to see Germany become again a great country.

He was once National Socialist, because he believed that National Socialism would restore order in Germany, and right injustice.

But he has not written a brief to prove that Danzig should be given to Germany. He is not interested in any such minor matter. He has written to warn the world, to warn the whole of western civilization, that it faces the greatest crisis in its history; that National Socialism is not a movement to obtain justice for Germany inside the framework of western civilization; that it

* *Die Revolution des Nihilismus*, by Hermann Rauschning. Europa Verlag, Zurich and New York, 1938.

is not a movement representing German nationalism; that it is not a movement which will restore order and unity to western civilization; that it is not a movement which will be a bulwark against Bolshevism; that it is not even the 'totalitarian state' — nor a state at all, but it is that apocalyptic thing 'the Total Revolution'; the Permanent Revolution; Dynamism, in which movement exists for the sake of movement.

He warns that it cannot come to rest, that it cannot construct and that it cannot be appeased.

He calls it the Revolution of Nihilism. And that is the title of the most important book on National Socialism which has been published since Heiden's 'History.' The author is Hermann Rauschning. You will find the book on the desks of such British Foreign Office officials, such American State Department officials, such French publicists, as can read German. It has had no popular reading, but it has had an enormous political influence.

For Hermann Rauschning has had to make a choice: whether openly to desert the régime which claims to be the legitimate government and purest expression of Germany; whether to become, in other words, that hardest thing for a German to endure being called — a renegade; whether to do this in a time of international crisis; whether to announce that above being German he is a European; or whether to say, 'My country right or wrong,' and keep still.

And he has decided to speak.

Hermann Rauschning was in the National Socialist movement. Like all Germans he wished to see Danzig restored to the Reich.

He became president of the Danzig Senate. Then he was ordered by the party to complete the total Nazification of Danzig, to begin the wholesale ruin of the Catholics and Jews; and when he saw what faced him, namely, the extermination of every principle which he believed that Germany shared with the rest of western civilization and the adoption of the tactics of nihilistic

revolution, he resigned, crying to himself, 'I have been lied to and betrayed!'

He kept his peace for a long time. Now, in self-imposed exile, he has spoken to tell the world that it is being lied to and betrayed — that 'Every attempt to maintain even superficially the fiction of an evolution toward a legal condition of affairs must fail, because it takes no account of the essential tendency of the dynamic revolution, the tendency which is the opposite pole of any legal social order, and which is the progressive dissolution of all historical values into total nihilism.'

'The attempt of these times,' he says, 'is to come to terms even with the unbearable out of fear that what is coming will be even worse. But before the question, What will change an unbearable condition to a better, or perhaps a worse one, stands the decisive question, What inevitably must become of a certain development if it is simply left alone to its own tendencies?'

And he comes to the dismaying conclusion that what must come of the nihilism of the German revolution is chaos and the most appalling collapse.

'What is this revolution?' he asks. 'A breaking loose of the nation, which shows the sharpest signs of a radical all-inclusive revolution; outwardly discipline and order, behind them the destruction of all the elements of order in the nation; violent outer feats of work which cannot cover the plunder and the destruction of material, intellectual and spiritual values produced through generations; an illimitable activity which cannot any longer conceal its inner apathy.'

'What is this Third Reich in reality — the beginning of a new order, or dissolution? National renaissance out of the historical powers in the nation, or progressive permanent revolution, a complete nihilism, with which dictatorship of violence pulls itself in power?' And he answers that it is the latter.

It is interesting that he uses the word 'Shigalovism' to describe

the progressive Nazi revolution. The word was once used by me to describe both the German and the Russian revolutions, in their latter-day phase.

Shigalov was the nihilist revolutionary in Dostoievsky's 'The Possessed,' who fiendishly advocated the total destruction of every intellectual and spiritual value of civilization, as the means of paving the way for a new order of things, which would come about when ruin had been complete.

But Rauschnig is not writing polemic. This is a carefully documented book. In it he describes both the inner nature of the Nazi 'world philosophy,' which, he reveals, is not a philosophy at all, but a surrogate revolution, based on slogan and mass hypnosis, covering a coldly logical tactic; he analyzes the tactic itself, which *is* the revolution; he reveals its goal, which is nothing less than the conquest of the whole world by this tactic; and he reveals the form of organization of the revolution-carrier, the party and the leader.

In his book he quotes an opinion that the death of Hitler will dissolve this movement. On the contrary, the Fuehrer dead may prove to be more potent than the Fuehrer living.

For already the myth is being carefully built up. Hitler is to be the Messiah of organic evolution — the anti-Christ of the will to power, which is not a will to national power but a will to power *per se*, the liberation of the lustfully destructive from any inhibitions whatsoever.

There is a horrible fascination in his description of the formation of the Nazi élite.

He leaves no one in the illusion that the Nazi revolution is in any sense of the word bourgeois. It is a mass movement, held together by mesmeric slogans, the class struggle translated into terms of 'Class Nations,' the appeal being consistently directed to the elements of the population who are without standards — the lowest, most ignorant and most unskilled.

The masses, consoled with social security and constantly whipped into hysterical excitement, are to be led forever and forever by the new élite.

The élite are biologically selected. They are picked from amongst the strongest bodies, the youth with the best-functioning glands, who are then consistently trained to be free of any inhibitions imposed by such dead-and-gone historical values as derive from Christianity or intellectual tradition, and trained to take consummate joy in the liberation of their most primitive instincts.

These instincts, however, are organized, directed, canalized at a word from the top — so that at any moment the social order may see the 'spontaneous' pogrom, which is the more horrible in that it is really, to a degree, spontaneous, once the corrupting process has been achieved by Nazi education!

The education of the Nazi élite, it turns out, is the education of super-racketeers and gangsters from among the biologically superior. The concept of 'noblesse oblige' is transformed into its polar opposite: into the concept that out of the biologically potentially noble will come a leadership of super-bandits, who will plunder the world; to whom organized murder, terror, espionage, robbery, treachery, the use of the lie, rape — which is flourishing in present-day Germany — will seem the natural, even the organic way of life.

And indeed it is, if the inhibitions imposed upon men by centuries of tradition are once completely released.

There is nothing in this book concerning the nature of the Nazi revolution which is new, except an increased documentation. But the human mind, if it is somewhat civilized, doubts repeatedly the evidence of its own experience and its own knowledge.

It is extremely difficult to imagine something that one has not seen before. Yet what is urgently needed is just such capacity for imagination and realization.

History furnishes some interesting analogies. The Ottoman Empire had a system of recruiting Christian Janissaries which somewhat corresponded to the formation of the Nazi élite. Christian boys were selected for their biological strength — whether that strength manifested itself in superior cunning, ruthlessness or physical prowess — and they were then carefully trained for the expansion and preservation of the Ottoman rule by the consistent development of anti-Christian tendencies.

And the Ottoman Empire held a large part of Europe and lasted from its rise to its final decline for nearly a thousand years.

If Rauschning's analysis of Naziism is correct, then it is apparent that it cannot be dealt with at all in the traditional procedures of diplomacy or from the aspect of power politics — by compromise, concession or adjustment. It cannot, itself, make such compromises or adjustments. It cannot take any step which would make it a co-operative part of any conceivable European or world system under any kind of adjustment whatsoever. For to do so would be to destroy itself. And it is doubtful whether war is the answer.

Rather, it is like a disease of an epidemic nature. The treatment of it must be isolation. But not isolation *from* it — for that is like allowing the malarial mosquito to flourish until it invades our own soil. Isolationism should mean isolation *of* it. Isolation of it from every part of western civilization, and from Russia, in conjunction with which, as Rauschning rightly fears, it would create the apocalypse of civilization.

May 8, 1939

History Repeats Itself

It is a mistake, I think, to talk about whether or not there will be a world war. There is a war going on at this minute. The forces have been conjoined; the struggle is in the open; and the question

is what other weapons may eventually be used, and where, and how.

What Hitler has done has been to revive the pre-war Pan-German program, plus a system of planned economy making for total industrial mobilization and the greatest possible economic self-sufficiency, plus a revolutionary strategy designed to create international problems like that of the refugees, and internal dissensions in every country.

The economic measures and the revolutionary tactic are only supplements to the central program of Pan-Germanism.

They have contributed greatly to confusing the issue, but it is now perfectly plain. What Hitler has done has simply been to resume the war which started in 1914, and to take over *in toto* the war aims that existed in 1915 and 1916, when Germany was winning that war.

In the last nineteen years the liberal bad conscience has been so busy attacking the Treaty of Versailles that it has totally forgotten the kind of peace that the German military machine had designed for the world in case of a German victory — a peace which had the backing, incidentally, of the great body of German intellectuals and industrialists.

Inasmuch as the Treaty of Versailles is long since as dead as mutton, while the renascence of the German military state is the central fact of the era, we may as well forget Versailles and reconsider 1915 and 1916, when the Germans were confident of complete victory.

It was in order to win this total victory that the Germany of the World War rejected the peace overtures of the Pope, the proffered mediation of President Wilson and the attempt of the Hapsburg Dynasty to negotiate with France.

Versailles never would have happened and there would have been a genuine 'peace without victory' — a peace of general justice — had the German military machine not willfully pro-

longed the bloody holocaust in the hope of a total realization of all its aims.

We have historical proof of what their intentions were in the east because they won the war against Russia and Rumania and dictated the peace terms.

The treaties which Russia and Rumania were forced to sign 'at the point of a gun' were made invalid by the general Allied victory. But they stand on paper for the world to see what German militarism considers justice and equality to be.

Russia was forced to relinquish Russian Poland and all her Baltic provinces — not in order to give them national emancipation as provided later in the Treaty of Versailles; not at all; they were simply taken over by Germany and Austria. Three other provinces were ceded to Turkey. Ukraine and Georgia were made into puppet states and into economic vassals of Germany.

Russia lost a third of her population, nearly a third of her agricultural land, more than half of all her industries and 89 per cent of her coal mines; her Black Sea ports were wholly lost and she was practically cut off from the Baltic.

Rumania was made into a colony, bound, economically, hand and foot to Germany.

The aims of Germany in the west are known through official documents and speeches and inspired editorials in the German wartime press. To read them again today is to find oneself on highly familiar ground. Apart from the Left Wing Social Democrats and a few distinguished dissenters, the entire nation was regimented behind them.

There was the same talk of necessary life-room, the same talk of racial superiority, the same talk of the German mission to civilize the world that we read in 'Mein Kampf.'

The 1341 German intellectuals who set forth the 'minimum demands' to the Imperial Chancellor demanded the 'enfeebling of France' politically and economically without scruple or compunction.

This included 'rectifying' the western frontiers, taking over private properties and leaving the indemnification of them to France (*vide* Czechoslovakia), conquering part of the French Channel coast 'to increase our strategical security against England,' disfranchising any Frenchmen incorporated into the new Reich, imposing the highest possible war indemnity, taking over Belgium and turning the population into helots without 'political influence,' breaking up the British Empire and establishing 'a permanent connection with the world of Islam.'

There was also a consistent plan to re-establish the empire of Charlemagne; to give part of Belgium to Holland, on condition that the Netherlands enter the German Empire 'voluntarily'; and Italy was also to be fused into the Germanic orbit in a grander reconstitution of the Holy Roman Empire.

Nor was Germany prepared to stop short of the New World, for once she sat in Britain's place, plus a hegemony of the European Continent and without the decadent ideas of national liberty, the world would be hers.

It was to prevent this that Europe went to war in 1914 and that we joined in 1917, when but for our intervention the Germans would have won.

To prevent it, aristocratic England joined forces with democratic France and Czarist Russia.

The disillusion which the whole world later suffered does not eradicate the fact that the menace to all national independences really existed.

If Germany had won a complete victory the whole of Europe today would be living on about the same terms as Czechoslovakia actually is — or long since there would have been fearful revolutions. And the United States would have been conducting her trade on terms dictated by an all-powerful military economy under conditions with which it would be impossible to compete.

May 15, 1939

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

New York Times

May 23, 1939

TOLLER, NAZI EXILE, ENDS HIS LIFE HERE — German Writer Hangs Himself in Apartment — Had Felt Depressed Long Time — HIS CAREER WAS STORMY — Earlier Works were Penned in a Reich Prison after War — He Escaped Hitler Net — His body was found by his secretary, Elsie Burroughs, of 230 West Sixty-First Street, when she returned to the apartment at 2:30 yesterday afternoon after her lunch hour.

Death of a Poet

ERNST TOLLER was a poet, and he came of age in the twentieth century. It is almost the whole epitaph. Being a poet, he was afflicted — with nerves and with imagination. The poet's nerves are a sort of radio sending and receiving station; they quiver to waves which leave the stolid undisturbed. It is the joy and the agony of the poet to feel more than what happens to himself; to feel and respond to what happens to people he has never met, never seen, far away, nothing too far away.

It is the curse of his imagination to *see* — to see, though staring at a blank wall. To see forward and back, in the present, what was, and what is coming. When joy and peace are the routine of the times, he is the most joyous, the most expansive; when conflict and violence are the routine, he is wounded a thousand times and felled with a thousand blows.

If he is very great, the blows temper him into a blade sharp enough to cut through all confusion. If he is very great, he be-

comes judgment when all judgment is suspended. Such a one was Dante.

Toller was not very great. But he was wholly poet.

He was not great enough for the awful violence of the times in which he lived. Who is?

He looked upon the world with torn-open, incredulous eyes. They remained to the end incredulous eyes. They looked eagerly for beauty, serenity, dignity, justice, truth. What they saw appalled them. Toller was appalled to death.

There was the youth, hastening home from golden student days in France, hastening home to Germany to join his regiment, to fight Germany's war. He was a German and a Jew. In 1914 all German. In 1914 a European; educated and cultivated beyond the average, but, in the critical moment, a child of the soil that bred him. He was not in the war long. He was gravely wounded.

But he had seen the trenches — the mud and the barbed wire and the cold officer — bureaucracy barking at men about to die, and the comradeship, too, and the common wretched humanity.

Crippled behind the lines, he saw the war snatch the bread from the mouths of children — the bellies bloated with turnips; the women handing their own scrap of margarine across the table to the smallest one.

He saw what was before his eyes and what was not before his eyes — telegraphed to those sensitive nerve ends, beating on them intolerably.

Peace! Peace with Victory! Peace without Victory! What was any longer victory or not victory in this shambles that the world had become, this blindness, stumbling and falling in its own excrement? To stop it — to stop it before it stumbled and fell for the last time!

His fatherland now was out there in the mud, and among the prisoners parading dully months on end, years on end, in the prison camps. His fatherland now was a race of men who spoke

English and French and German, and cursed the war and prayed for peace.

So he helped organize the munitions strike. Someone had got to help stop this war.

The soldiers came home. There was revolution in the air. When soldiers come home from a long war there is always revolution in the air.

The revolution was a fantasy, a poet's fantasy — 'Shall we not shatter it to bits and then remold it nearer to the heart's desire!'

And what was the heart's desire? Brotherhood. The comradeship of the trenches, in the prosperity and serenity of peace. The sword into a plowshare, the sharing of everything among everybody, the eternal dream.

Eloquence is the poet's gift. Toller had a childlike radiance. The masses listened to him. But revolution is not a universal Easter. It is violence. Revolution is more war. There were soldiers — and soldiers. The guns turned in two directions. The officers were stronger. The poet and the war casualty was a traitor. He went to prison — for five years.

There are worse places, for a poet in the twentieth century, than prison. The world, perhaps, is worse. They put him in a madhouse first — perhaps he felt himself among the sane.

The prison walls were thick; there was solitude. Perhaps through so much stone the waves were spent. So he could write. He wrote about masses — about masses and men. His heart was with the revolt of the poor. His being recoiled from violence. He loved people, not masses. He was a sorry revolutionist — he had no power to hate.

His play 'Man and the Masses' came out from the prison walls and was played in many languages. He wrote poetry. He wrote of a war cripple. The play was too painful . . . the exacerbation of an open wound.

He came out of prison into the republic — which had impris-

oned him — and into fame. The republic was careening merrily, with the ancient régime sulking and plotting, the trade-union bureaucrats riding high, the Socialist ministers hobnobbing with aristocrats and profiteers, who flattered them to their faces and sneered behind their backs.

The parties of the Left quarreled, quarreled interminably in dialectic dialogue; the night clubs thrived; over everything was the tinsel of borrowed money.

The poet enjoyed his fame.

But the nerve ends telegraphed: Bad news! Bad news! The open, ingenuous eyes clouded and were appalled.

The end of it was Hitler.

This was the pure revolution, its very acme. It was conservatism wrapped in black and red embracing its own death.

It was violence with 'order' and 'discipline' on its tongue. It had none of the yearning, infantile, and argumentative cruel idealism of the Leftists. It was not the revolution of the trenches. It was the organized revolution of the top sergeant.

It was not the anarchic street fighting of the Bavarian rising. It fell into line; it marched; it heiled; its destruction was systematic. Nihilism ran wild in its heart, but outside it stood panoplied, serried, proclaiming an awful power. The mass was automatized. The nation was a tank.

The poets fled from that place. The world is dotted with the German poets. And Toller, of course. Against the armored world he was Enemy No. 1. Curious. It is not — I wrote it *is* not — it was not in him to hurt a fly.

The poet is a man of words. Words are his breath and his life. In them, and in them alone, is ease for his suffering and sublimation for his personal and vicarious pains.

Exile ripped the words out of his mouth. He was a man of words without a language. He was grateful to New York. He watched America wonderingly, admiring the great democracy.

He was at the P. E. N. Conference and visited the White House. That was a day of joy. 'So ought great democracies to live,' he said, looking at the big house, not too much bigger than its compatriots.

We visited Arlington and walked through the House of Lee. 'He was on the other side in the Civil War,' I explained. His eyes grew large with happiness. 'And his home is a public monument? I had heard that, but I did not believe.'

'We love him now,' I said. 'We think he was very greatly wrong.'

'There are no special tombs for officers?' he asked. We were driving through the rows on rows of small white stones.

'If the family wanna put one up they can,' the taxi-driver explained. 'But the country don't put up no special ones. After all, they all died the same, I guess they figger.'

The poet looked at the cemetery. 'It is very peaceful here,' he said. 'Peaceful and democratic.'

The words would not come, in a strange country, to ease the pain. And the waves kept beating endlessly ... his mother ... they broke into her home and tore his last letter from around her neck. She wore it as an amulet. Had he ever brought her luck? Mothers are strange.

They arrested his sister. In Czechoslovakia, his brother. His brother was a banker. He wore no letter as an amulet. The poet was a family disaster.

But who was his family? The last time I saw him his face was white. 'They are sending eighty German war prisoners — Czechs and Germans and Austrians — back to Hitler from Spain,' he said. 'Can you not stop them?'

He had no money; no words; no country. 'And I have come here when America has no more use for European culture,' he said with clear awareness.

If he had died in Austria or Switzerland perhaps I should not

have felt it so much. Only the poet's nerve ends receive the message with undiluted shock, from near or far. But it was just up the street where he hanged himself, in a New York hotel room. Why did no message come to me saying, 'Telephone him!' Saying, 'Ask him to come around . . . to come around and talk.'

They will say that Hitler killed him. That is true enough. But commend him not to hate who had in him no steely power to hate.

His fate was to love the world and mankind, and most unhappily.

May 24, 1939

America

AS I CAME across this country, yesterday and the day before that, and the day before that, the incredible wonder, the perennial miracle of the country came home to me again freshly, newly, as it repeatedly does. Suddenly one opens one's eyes and sees it, and is again, as one has been always, amazed and astonished. I thought of a great line from the most representative of all American poets, Walt Whitman, who wrote a hundred years ahead of his time, seeing with prophetic vision the America that has been, and was, and is, and would be.

In the preface to the 1855 edition of 'Leaves of Grass,' which is one of the greatest essays ever written in this country, on the poet and America, and the poet's relation to America, he said: 'The largeness of Nature and of this nation were *monstrous* without a corresponding largeness and generosity of the spirit of the citizen.' And without a breed of men full-sized, capable of universal sympathy, full of pride and affection and generosity, this country would indeed be monstrous. Here it lies in the center of the world, looking out on the two great oceans, looking out on the east to the old world, the cradle of white western civilization, looking out here on the west to a still older world, of still older races, out of which have come all the great religions and the deepest of human wisdoms. Its very position makes it sensitive and perceptive to whatever happens anywhere in the world. Its composition makes it sensitive and susceptible. Its geography

makes it sensitive and susceptible. Here live no race, but a race of races — a new kind of man bred out of many old kinds of men — in a climate more fierce, more radioactive, less temperate than that of Europe — in a climate that encompasses all climates. Here is no nation, but a nation of nations, a continent enclosing many different kinds of cultures and slowly making them into one culture.

When I think of America, I see it in a series of pictures — of moving pictures. I see the tight white and green farms of Vermont; the quick lush summers knee-deep in fern and field flowers; the narrow faces and the ironic grins of the Vermonters; the love of thrift and the strange inhibited hospitality of the people; the deep quiet lakes, the hills that are never too high for cattle to graze on them, the long, long bitter winters; small friendly communities where free, independent farmers still help build each other's barns and cut each other's wood; where the hired man calls the farmer by his first name; where the women from the farms and villages will come to cook for you, 'to help out,' but where you never can find anyone with the spirit or attitude of a servant.

I think of the incredible city of Manhattan — sometimes I think it too incredible to last — where the languages of a dozen nations are heard on the streets; where there are more Italians than in any Italian city except Rome; more Jews than there are in Jerusalem or in any other town on earth; where there are more Irish than there are in Dublin; a city which has — shall I call him 'the late' Jimmie Hines? — and which also has room for Robert Moses.

I think of the temperate and civilized — and uncivilized Carolinas; of Annapolis, the most beautiful eighteenth-century town in the whole English-speaking world; of the long quays of Savannah and the opulent laziness of the South, and the queer intellectual vigor that has always come up in the South whenever

people thought that it was dead — from the South that has repeatedly given us our greatest statesmen.

I think of the great Southwest with a climate in which it is almost impossible to die. Texas, where you could settle a whole nation — yes, even now, when they say our frontiers are exhausted. And here, California, the earth's Eldorado, bigger than all of Italy, with a population only one-seventh that of Italy; great glittery beaches out of which rise the towers of oil wells. The finest fruits on earth. The most enchanting American city: San Francisco.

Yes, this country would be monstrous without a corresponding largeness and generosity of the spirit of its citizens.

This country is only five generations old. In the days of our great-great-great-grandfathers it was still a howling wilderness, still unexplored. Today it is the most powerful single nation on the face of the earth.

This country has seven million farms valued at thirty-three billion dollars. It produces three and a half times as much corn as any other nation in the world. It produces more wheat than any other nation on earth except Soviet Russia. In the great industrial towns of the East and the Middle West — in twenty-six counties of this vast nation — it produces almost as much steel and four times as many automobiles as all the rest of the world combined.

It is so enormous and so powerful that gigantic public works are lost in it; they are done casually without any ballyhoo. We have the greatest roads ever built since the Romans, and they were built without Fascism and without forced labor. In our lifetimes we have undertaken one of the greatest reclamation jobs ever done in the history of mankind. We have taken the Columbia and the Colorado Rivers and bent them, diverted them, stopped them, and pushed them around to create a whole new province in which men can settle and live, to create a lake so vast

that it is an internal sea — and most people in the United States don't even know about it.

Always this country has had poets — and epic poets — moved by the grandeur of the country itself, its history, its possibilities, its titanism. Longfellow, who celebrated the trek of the Acadians; the philosopher-poet Emerson, seeking to find this country's over-soul; the anonymous ballad-makers of the ranges and the mountains; Vachel Lindsay trying to catch this country's broad rhythms; the great poets of the contemporary day: your own Robinson Jeffers who finds in Monterey the somber grandeur that the Greeks knew; the Benét brothers continuing the great epic; Archibald MacLeish finding the frontiers of poetical stuff not exhausted by modern technology and industry, and creating new rhythms to correspond to new rhythms of work and life, and the titan of all of them, Walt Whitman, who wrote: 'The United States themselves are essentially the greatest poem. In the history of the earth hitherto the largest and most stirring appear tame and orderly to their ampler largeness and stir. Here at last is something in the doings of man that corresponds with the broadcast doings of the day and night. Here is not merely a nation, but a teeming nation of nations. Here is action untied from strings, necessarily blind to particulars and details, magnificently moving in vast masses. Here is the hospitality which forever indicates heroes. . . .'

Here is the imagination which could conceive Wilson's dream of a world-state. Is it so fantastic? Is it more fantastic than what this country is? Here is the imagination which could conceive a frontier on another nation, three thousand miles long and at all places vulnerable, and without a single fort. You think that is not something to have accomplished in history? Maybe it is the greatest thing that we have accomplished in history: the idea that two continental nations could live in permanent friendship.

And because of our geography, our position between two

oceans, the largeness of the nation, the necessary wideness of sympathy and imagination, this country is of all countries in the world the most susceptible to what happens outside its own boundaries. Throughout our history, we have counseled isolation. Never in our history have we been isolationists. Upon this country beat all the ideas and all the conflicts of the whole world — for in this country are the peoples of the whole world, and in this country is a certain type of mind, which is impatient of boundaries; which is able to contemplate things near and very far — nothing too far.

This country is itself the synthesis of many cultures. Its founders were Anglo-Saxons — one of the most remarkable groups of men that history ever produced at the right moment. It is still incomprehensible to me how, at one critical moment in history, it should happen that in a sparsely populated, remote colony, there should be men of the genius, of the stature, the vision, and the world culture of Washington, and Jefferson, and Hamilton, and Madison, and Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay, and the two Adamses. These men were Anglo-Saxons, but the inspiration for the constitution of the new world did not come only from English traditions.

On the contrary, when in 1910 the Union of South Africa was formed, the British framers of that constitution copied ours and nothing specifically British. For ours remains the first great federal government in history. And the men who designed this government, which has lasted through a terrific civil war and through a world war without the necessity of fundamental change, drew their ideas from two thousand years of history. They were indebted to Aristotle, and to the Frenchman Montesquieu. And I am absolutely convinced that the future organization of the world will draw its greatest inspiration from this constitution which demonstrates that there can be diversity and still unity, that there can be authority and still no concentration of naked power.

I follow the new thought that is going on in the world, and I see that in this new thought there is much that was already known to the founders of this country. They knew that the worst of all governments is a government of naked power. They knew that all power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. They knew that it is possible to integrate order and freedom. They knew that it is possible for many forms of activity to exist side by side, provided the areas are defined and do not compete with each other, except under commonly accepted rules. It is my belief that many of the political ideas embodied in this constitution and above all, of the division of power, will one day be applied to our economic life, in an orderly manner and under the regulation of the law; and when that time comes we shall have an unparalleled period of prosperity and expansion.

But these Anglo-Saxons who framed the Constitution did not make America. They broke loose from their old ties; they broke loose, I might even say, from their own race, in order to make a new world and a new race. And they did not build this nation. This nation was built by Germans, Swedes, Russians, Negroes, and Bohunks — men from the Danubian Basin — by Wops, by Anglo-Saxons, and by Jews. It was built by people who came here with a dream. For five generations people have been coming here with a dream. Sometimes the dream was grandiose. The men who built New England came here with a dream of religious freedom. They came here as refugees, persecuted because they wouldn't bend their consciences. Acadians trekked to Louisiana also to find a world in which they could be themselves. And some came here hoping to find gold in the streets. And some came because they were herded up in Hungarian and Slavic villages and brought over here like cattle under false pretensions, full of false hopes. But in all of their minds there was something common. For all of them there was a magnet. And the magnet was that they thought that here, in their own way, they could stand up,

and look their neighbors in the face, and call themselves men, and not slaves.

And in five generations we have produced on this continent a race. You think there's not an American race? It's funny. Here we are made up of every stock in the world, and yet you can tell an American if you see him on the streets in Berlin, or Vienna, or Paris. What is an American? A typical American? I don't mean the people who live in the more fashionable suburbs and have their pedigrees framed on the wall to show they go back to one of the Norman conquerors. (If everybody who claims Norman conqueror ancestry really has one, William's army was the largest in history.) An American is a fellow whose grandfather was a German forty-eighter who settled in Wisconsin and married a Swede, whose mother's father married an Englishwoman, whose son met a girl at college, whose mother was an Austrian and whose father was a Hungarian Jew and their son in the twentieth century right now is six feet tall — we are perhaps the tallest race on earth — goes to a state college, plays football, can't speak a word of any known language except American, and is doubtful whether he ever had a grandfather.

This American has several characteristics. He doesn't like to take orders. If you speak to him in a friendly way, he will do almost anything you ask him — inside reason. If you once get him into a war, he is a very good fighter, but he has a very low opinion of war, and, except when he is dressed up for a festival of the Elks or the American Legion, a pretty low opinion of uniforms. He doesn't like to commit himself to stay forever in one place. He is restless, and an inveterate traveler in his own country or elsewhere if he can afford it. He is incredibly ingenious. He can devise more ways to save himself work than any other known race of human beings; that's probably why he has invented so many gadgets. He will wear himself out playing golf, or tennis, or football, but he won't walk to get to the golf links. He is

gregarious, but not at all herd-minded. He is not servile. He is enormously inventive. This is one of the greatest races of inventors ever produced. He was born free and he shows it by the way he moves. He is the best-nourished human being on the face of the earth. I know there are parts of this country where this is not true — I know all about Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. I've been there, and it's bad. It's got to be made better. But just the same the per capita consumption of food in the United States is higher than it is anywhere else, and the food that is consumed is more expensive and more various than it is anywhere else, taken for the country as a whole.

Now, what I am saying is this: we have got as far as we have, not only because we have a continent rich in resources — there are other continents rich in resources — we have got as far as we have because we produced a certain kind of human being and a certain type of mind. That human being is, first of all, a fellow with his eye on the future and not on the past. He is skeptical, and yet he has eternal faith. He constantly tries to think why something doesn't work as well as it should and how you can make it better. He is the kind of human being who likes to go off on his own and start something. If anyone wants to come with him, that's all right, too. He's a born democrat — and democrats are born, not made. He hates a stuffed shirt and he doesn't like to be high-hatted. He is suspicious of anybody who pretends to be better than he is. Nobody except the Scots and the Jews has such a passion for education as has the American.

I say all this because I hope that we are going to keep this kind of race alive. This race has emerged out of the concept of equality. Now don't misunderstand this word 'equality.' Equality does not mean that everybody is as good as everybody else. You can't go into any classroom in a public school and keep that illusion for ten minutes. The child with an IQ of 80 isn't the equal of a child with an IQ of 157 — here or anywhere else. The youngster,

deformed by Nature, is not the equal of that little boy over there with straight legs, a well-shaped head, sound teeth, and clear eyes. Maybe the child deformed by Nature, though, has something that that youngster hasn't, and the American attitude is to see whether maybe that isn't true. But the American concept of equality is that every person has a right to a break. Every human being shall be judged by what he is and does, and not by any purely arbitrary rule. As a matter of fact, the American concept is a profoundly religious one. It is based on the belief in the sanctity of the human personality, on the immense value of every individual, and the right of every individual to make out of himself the very best human being that he can. The questions that Americans naturally ask concerning other human beings are: 'What does he do?' and, 'What sort of a guy is he?' and, 'Does he know his stuff?'

The attitude of Americans toward themselves and toward all other human beings, the fact that we are a race of races, and a nation of nations, the fact of our outlook upon two oceans — and the miracle of the creation of this country out of stock that for such a large part represents the frustrations of European dreams and the rejection of human material — all these combine to make us a messianic people, with a feeling of mission not only for ourselves but for the world. This has been true from our very beginnings. Our whole political literature, which is one of the greatest possessed by any nation, reiterates the conception that the values that we cherish are of universal validity. The inscription on the Plymouth Rock Monument is addressed, not merely to Americans, but to all the world. Since I prepared this speech on the train, I am having to quote from memory and I may twist a word or two, but surely not the sense:

'This spot marks the final resting-place of the Pilgrims of the *Mayflower*. In weariness and hunger and in cold, fighting the wilderness and burying their dead in common graves

that the Indians should not know how many had perished, they here laid the foundations of a state in which all men for countless ages should have liberty to worship God in their own way. All ye who pass by and see this stone remember, and dedicate yourselves anew to the resolution that you will not rest until this lofty ideal shall have been realized *throughout the earth.*'

And the Declaration of Independence contains these words:

'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all *men* are created equal — [not all Americans] — and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

And when we wrote the Constitution, we made one which is not confined to any geographic area, but is infinitely expandable.

In all the great speeches of Lincoln, there is the same sense of the American mission. In his farewell speech at Springfield, he spoke of the United States as 'the last great hope of earth.' And he closed the Gettysburg Address, that great apostrophe to popular government, with the words, 'shall not perish from the earth.' He did not say 'from this soil.' He, like all great Americans, and above all the poets, conceived that there was some cosmic significance about this country and about this great experiment. And that feeling is still in the American heart. It is expressed in our reaction, our spontaneous reaction, to all assaults against human rights, to the degradation of personality, to all crimes against human freedom, to all persecutions and bigotries, and, above all, to all tyranny wherever it raises its head, in the most remote quarters of the globe. And since we are a free people, and are not inhibited in our expression, all such crimes have been protested by the American people as individuals long in advance of the protests of their government. Time and again in our history we have broken off diplomatic relations with

countries because they have persecuted Jews or Armenians, or any other branch of the human race. We have been told that it is none of our business; but in some undefined way, we know it is some of our business; that the sense and meaning of our life is that we should be sensitive to such things.

And I, for one, believe that if ever the time comes that the antennae of this country are not sensitive to assaults on liberty, wherever these assaults may occur, then this country will have degenerated into an unvirtuous and defeatist senility. Like it or not, that is the way we are.

Now we are living in the midst of a great world crisis. It is our fate to live in a revolutionary world. In this crisis, we are inhibited by our own guilty consciences. We are confronted by the rising tide of a new world philosophy, seeking to extend itself by terror, by blackmail, by intimidation, by treachery, and by naked force. That this philosophy has found its roots in Germany, surely one of the greatest peoples of the world, is in large measure due to our irresponsibility, our richness, our laziness, and our greed.

That we stand today possibly on the brink of another world war is due to the fact that the last war was never ended. And indeed this is not another war. This is the same old war. And if it bursts out again, out of the stage of this 'white' war, this so-called bloodless struggle, of illimitable terror — if it breaks out again into the flame and horror of actual armed conflict between great nations, it will be one of the most senseless conflicts in all history. For it will again be a war of imperialisms at a time when every intelligent human being knows that the imperialism of the nineteenth century is finished. It is a crime to fight a war for something that is already dead. The power politics of the last century are incapable of securing for anybody the things that everybody needs and longs for — homes, security in their lives and property, the greater use of the magnificent instruments

of production that the world has, education to make men freer and better than they have ever been.

The Germans raise the cry that the goods of the world are badly distributed as among nations. They are indeed badly distributed. But it is no solution to turn the whole pyramid upside down; to take the preponderance of the goods of the world from one group of nations and give them to another group of nations. Let it be said for the old empires, like the British and the French, that they are already aware of the limits of imperialism. The tendency of the British Empire for the past generation has been in the direction of the creation of a complex of independent commonwealths, self-governing and held together, not by force, but by a common philosophy and by common interests, even as these States have been held together since 1867.

The prospects of a new and more ruthless imperialism than the world has yet known, imposed by force, held by armies of occupation, the imperialism of a self-nominated master-folk over slaves, is the more horrible because it not only offends the humane instincts, but it offends the intelligence. The economic problem of this civilization can be simply stated. In a relatively small surface of the globe, a large part of it very thickly populated, namely, in western Europe and in the great industrial areas of North America, is centered almost the whole of the industrial production of the earth. This production needs markets. This vast technological apparatus needs to be used to develop the undeveloped portions of the globe; to reclaim lands that need irrigation; to reclaim swamps that need drainage; to rid areas of disease — as Panama was cleared of yellow fever and made habitable for white men; to create new lands, new farms, new cities, in which the crowded and starving inhabitants of European ghettos and the world slums can begin new lives and found new races.

The time has come for a new kind of imperialism, the object

of which is not national glory, but the object of which is to make larger and larger parts of this earth habitable and civilized. And we cannot do this if we are to begin again a world-wide grab. This can be done by co-operation and only by co-operation. It can only be done by making the resources of the earth available to all who have needs, imagination, organization, power, and the capacity to work.

It is not going to be done by building a mausoleum in Kentucky for sixty per cent of the world's gold. It is not going to be done by a timid rush of every nation to protect itself behind barriers of bayonets and tanks and machine guns. It is not going to be done by investing something like fifteen per cent of the total energy of the world in armaments. And it's not going to be done on human slavery. The great German poet, Friedrich Schiller, in a speech which the Marquis Posa makes to King Philip, cries: 'Look around about you on the face of Nature; in freedom it was born, and look how great through freedom it became.'

The new epoch which has been dawning now for thirty years cannot begin to be realized as long as the world lives in constant terror of new aggrandizements. Today the whole of western civilization as far as Europe is concerned is suspended by fear, and tomorrow it may blow up in war. It is very, very late, but perhaps not yet too late. But it is already too late for cowards, and defeatists, and those who bury their heads in the sands because they cannot bear to look facts in the face.

Nobody today in the democracies is prepared to defend the *status quo* in the world. There is something wrong with the *status quo* when in all countries there is either vast unemployment and great discouragement, or there is forced labor, complete regimentation, and the total suppression of every value that is not compatible with the aims of a militarized state.

But beyond the horizon there is a concept of a different kind

of world order altogether. And if the democracies hold what they have it is not because they are satisfied with what they have, but because they want to make something better.

This country in these days stands at the crossroads. It can seek to retire behind its two oceans, and wash its hands of the rest of the world. To wash its hands will mean to ignore the appalling sufferings that millions already endure. To wash its hands will mean to take a cynical view of the world scene as just another struggle in power politics, or a self-righteous view that all other peoples are more or less knaves, while we are not only rich but pious. The latter view is not in the least justified.

We are also to blame for the state of affairs in the world. We washed our hands in 1919. We inaugurated a policy the result of which had to be the bankrupting and impoverishment of Europe. We lent money in vast sums at enormous interest to countries that could not possibly repay it, at the same time that we closed our borders by the highest tariff barriers in our history. But, even were a cynical and self-righteous attitude justified, it would run against the grain of the whole American temper, and it will fail. Because we are intimately integrated with the world in which we live. A war involving two oceans will surely involve us as every world war in our history has involved us. World anarchy will involve us as it has been involving us for the last twenty years. In the modern world — the world of rapid communications, of universal exchange of commodities, and above all, universal exchange of ideas — the hope that we can divorce this continent from the planet on which it is, is a forlorn hope. Sooner or later our power will be thrown into the balance. And the question is whether we should wait for the world to explode or whether we should make it clear right now that no one must count on the disinterestedness of the United States. The attitude of a great democracy is greatness. The attitude of a great free country is to cheer up slaves and horrify despots. The attitude of

the first great continental federation of free states, the first great nation with an unfortified frontier, a nation more cognizant, perhaps, than any of the grandeur and the possibilities of modern science and technology, is to call a halt to an attempt to throw the modern world back into an era of Caesarism.

From this country today should come comfort, and hope, and new strength to everyone, everywhere, who still loves freedom and still believes in a future for the common human being. That message has been written for us to give, time and again, by the great spokesmen of this people. I began with a quotation from Walt Whitman. I will end this with one from the same poet. Like the first, it is written in Walt Whitman's 'Mein Kampf,' his great essay on the sense and meaning of America:

'Come near and you shall learn the faithful American lesson. Liberty is poorly served by men whose good intent is quelled from one failure or two failures or any number of failures, or from the casual indifference or ingratitude of the people, or from the sharp show of the tushes of power, or the bringing to bear soldiers and cannon or any penal statutes. Liberty relies upon itself, invites no one, promises nothing, sits in calmness and light, is positive and composed, and knows no discouragement. The battle rages with many a loud alarm and frequent advance and retreat — the enemy triumphs — the prison, the handcuffs, the iron necklace and anklet, the scaffold, and leadballs do their work . . . the cause is asleep . . . the strong throats are choked in their own blood, the young men drop their eyelashes toward the ground when they pass each other . . . and is liberty gone out of that place? No, never. When liberty goes it is not the first to go nor the second nor third to go, it waits for all the rest to go . . . it is the last. When the memory of the old martyrs are faded utterly away . . . when the large names of patriots are laughed at . . . when the boys are no more

christened after them but christened after tyrants and traitors instead . . . when the laws of the free are grudgingly permitted and laws for informers and spies are sweet to the taste of the people . . . when you and I walk abroad upon the earth stung with compassion at the sight of numberless brothers answering our equal friendship and calling no man master, and when we are elated with noble joy at the sight of slaves . . . when the soul has ecstasy over the word and deed that put back a helpless innocent person into any cruel inferiority . . . when the swarms of cringers, suckers, doughfaces, lice of politics, planners of sly involution for their own preferment obtain a response of love and deference from the people . . . when it is better to be a bound booby and a rogue in office at a high salary than the poorest free mechanic or farmer with his hat unmoved from his head and firm eyes and a candid and generous heart . . . and when servility and oppression on a large scale or a small scale can be tried on without its punishment following duly after . . . or rather when all life and all the souls of men and women are discharged from any part of the earth — then only shall the instinct of liberty be discharged from that part of the earth.'

Never will it be discharged from this continent, for this nation was born in freedom. And the words of the poet we send to you Czechs, clenching an impotent fist behind you while you raise an arm in a servile salute, and throwing snowballs at tanks betrayed into your country; and to you Jews, hounded over the face of the earth, piled with calumniations, your children insulted, your property stolen; and to you Spaniards, fighting to live, and to educate your children, full of that fierce Spanish pride, your misery exploited for empires and ideologies foreign to you; and to you Englishmen, wanting peace, trying now for months to find peace and decency, too, quietly accepting your gas masks, waiting for the whirl of the terrific death-dealing birds over your

heads; and to you Frenchmen, tired of empire, tired and sick of war, silently answering the call to stand again in the battle line; and to you Chinese, your country one vast slaughter-house. And the message of the American poet is to you, too, Germans — you heroes in concentration camps; you saints who slip out at night to do a good deed for some old neighbor, to smuggle food to some outlawed Jew — an act of the most simple Christianity undertaken in conspiracy as though it were a crime; and to you Italians, who have now spilled your blood in three countries for a cause that surely will be lost.

To you the message comes: 'Only when all life and all the souls of men and women are discharged from the earth — then only shall liberty be discharged from the earth.'

April 13, 1939

[Address for The Modern Forum, Los Angeles, California.]

Conclusion

WHAT is one to conclude from following the history of European and American diplomacy during the past three years?

The time when a stand could have been taken against the attempts of single nations or blocks of nations forcibly to redistribute the world, the time when such a stand could have been taken with a minimum of risk, lies in the past; it does not lie in the present or in the future. The author of the commentary collected in this book believed at the time, and still believes, that the last certain chance to preserve peace and maintain the principle of arbitration and deliberate adjustment of differences was before the Austrian coup.

The conquest of Czechoslovakia was the completely logical successor of the conquest of Austria; the conquest of Poland remains a completely logical successor to the conquest of Czechoslovakia; the conquest of all eastern Europe has been in the cards from the beginning.

In eastern Europe alone, the territory which Germany now claims openly as her 'living room' and which she now avows her intention to absorb, either by actual incorporation inside the Reich or by reducing the inhabitants to a sort of colonial vassalage, contains more than one half of the total population of Europe. Add Italy, which is now hardly an independent state, but is chained to the steam-roller of the German Colossus; add Spain, and one half of the western world would be in the hands of Nazi-

dom. Great Britain and France might remain independent, but they would live on the terms of Germany.

Europe cannot live off its own fat. In Europe there are over four hundred million people, and there are concentrated practically all of the science, technology, and machine industry that exist in the world, except for North America. A Europe dominated by Nazi Germany would indulge in a world imperialism the like of which has never yet been seen. It would be absolutely ruthless; its object would be complete monopoly; it would be socially, economically, and militaristically totalitarian.

The world markets of the United States would be destroyed by it. The Monroe Doctrine would cease to have any meaning whatsoever. Its natural and inevitable enemies would eventually be the United States and Russia. Russia, with immense territory, its authoritarian and state-capitalistic planned economy, and the very low living standard of its people, might and possibly could manage to live from its own vast territory and resources without outside markets. In other words, it could conceivably adjust itself to the domination of the rest of the world by the totalitarian powers, under German leadership.

But the United States, as a land of freedom, democracy, and a high standard of living, could not.

The worst possible thing that could happen to the United States of America would be that Great Britain should decide not to oppose Germany, but to enter into collaboration with Germany, for the mutual exploitation of the rest of the world. This has been Hitler's hope and dream from the beginning, and there are powerful groups in England who are sympathetic to this idea. For a close alliance with Great Britain, Hitler would be willing to pay a price.

That fact would mean the end of the historic institutions of the United States. If we were pushed into genuine isolation and confined our economic activities to the United States, we should also

have to make a totalitarian or semi-totalitarian state, with all production and distribution controlled by government.

It would mean that the people of the United States would have to take upon themselves a beehive discipline under which the interests and the self-development of the individual would be ruthlessly subjected to the preservation of the community. And despite our size and resources, we should be, as over against a totalitarian Europe, a second-rate power.

This is not a bogey being painted on the wall. This is a very clear possibility which one has to envisage. The only thing that is preventing it is the opposition of Great Britain and France to the Nazi program of conquest, intimidation, and planned, organized, economic, and political domination on a world-wide scale, under absolutely authoritarian and monopolistic direction.

No serious opposition was made to this program until the world woke up, following the absorption of Czechoslovakia. Then, late, very late, there was a universal stiffening which had immediate results. That the Nazi program did not pile victory on victory in the summer of 1939 is due solely to the resumption of leadership by Great Britain, and the vigorous foreign policy of the United States of America.

I regret that I must qualify these last words, and amend them to say: to the vigorous foreign policy of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull. The President and our State Department comprehend fully the implications for us in the international struggle which is going on. They did not create a new foreign policy, but implemented our traditional foreign policy with all the diplomatic and political instruments at their command. That traditional foreign policy is:

1. Non-interference in the political affairs of Europe except if and when our interests and safety demand temporary departure from this rule. This, as far as Europe is concerned, is the policy laid down in Washington's Farewell Address. There is not a word

in that Address, so often misquoted, that recommends that under *no* circumstances should the United States throw its weight on one side or another of a European struggle. The Address warns against *permanent* alliances. It suggests that we should not be guided by sentimental consideration toward any other powers, nor bind ourselves permanently to any one nation, but consider continually the interests of this people as part of the world in which we live.

2. The Monroe Doctrine, the essence of which is that no part of the Western Hemisphere shall become vassal to Europe.

3. An open door in the Far East. The essence of this is that in the markets of the Far East the trade of the United States shall compete on equal terms with the trade of all nations.

4. The recognition of the inviolability of treaties and of pacts, as between nations; collaboration with all attempts to reduce armaments; opposition — as clearly expressed in the Kellogg-Briand Pact — to all attempts to effect readjustments by force; collaboration to put relationships between nations on the basis of law.

Unfortunately, the vigorous policy of the President and of the State Department has not been supported by Congress. The refusal of the United States Congress to amend the Neutrality Act was the greatest piece of aid and comfort to Germany and Japan which came from any outside source during the summer of 1939.

The German war party led by Mr. Ribbentrop, and the Nazi propaganda department which, in America, is concentrating all its energies on whipping up isolation sentiment, have, by the actions of the United States Congress, increased their hold and authority over their Fuehrer. The action of the United States Congress has not only been a victory for Nazi Germany; it has been a victory for the most dangerous elements in Nazi Germany.

It is ridiculous to think of Germany as though there were only one voice in that country. Hitler listens primarily to his own

voices, that come to him like those of Joan of Arc, he thinks, from God, or the vague cosmos, in which he believes Germany to be the only fixed point, and himself to be the apotheosis of Germany.

But 'the inspired somnambulist,' as he once described himself, listens also to other counsels. One group is telling him to go ahead. They say that Germany's hour has struck in history; they say that nothing stands in the way of the full realization of his dreams except words; they say that every structure erected against him is built of cards and will fall before the mere gesture of a mailed fist. They tell him that the German propaganda in the United States is successful. They tell him that the American people are so afraid of Communism that their sympathies are with Hitler, and they point to the action of the United States Congress for proof and justification. They say that if he becomes embroiled with England and France, and those nations are fighting for their very existences, the United States, despite the fact that it has no conceivable quarrel with England and France, will first embargo arms and that then they will see to it that public opinion in this country collaborates to starve the last remaining free nations into submission.

The United States Congress has taken upon itself an enormous responsibility. The first result is observable in China where, as a direct result of the action of Congress, the British have capitulated to Japan over Tientsin. With the possibility of United States action which will definitely aid European aggressors, Great Britain must make every possible concession in the Far East. But the concessions that Great Britain makes in the Far East will inevitably be paid for by us as well as by Great Britain. In a moment when the struggle is still in the realm of nerves, politics, and diplomacy, a serious break has occurred in the nerves, the politics, and the diplomacy of the United States, and thereby the risk of another crisis has been enormously augmented.

The most dangerous thing that can happen to this nation and

to the world at this moment is the introduction of partisan politics into foreign policy.

We are only a few months away from a presidential election. This election is likely in any case to be hotly contested. It will involve many issues on which there are sharp cleavages of opinion. These cleavages will be naturally exaggerated; every presidential election is accompanied by mutual recrimination. And it is the nature of a national election that it divides the nation into two groups.

But in foreign policy, we should have neither Republicans nor Democrats: we should stand as one people.

In the first place, this is the first rule of self-preservation. And in the second place, a free-for-all fight on foreign policy, or a chaotic period when we are literally without a foreign policy, will create the most favorable moment for the totalitarian nations to strike. The party leaders of this country have, therefore, a national and an international obligation and responsibility. The greatest contribution that they could make at this time to their own country and to the world at large would be to agree on foreign policy and to undertake to educate the American people to an understanding of that foreign policy and to a consequential pursuit of it.

In the opinion of the writer, it is too bad that the Allen amendment to the Bloom bill was not given further consideration, for that amendment might well cut the Gordian knot of our neutrality legislation already on the books. The repeal of this legislation would automatically restore the full operation of international law in wartime, and let the advantage go to whatever set of the belligerents could take it.

In terms of international law this would give us a much more defensible neutrality position, and, as things are, it would operate to the advantage of the democracies with whom the overwhelming sympathies of this country lie.

From the viewpoint of defending our own interests, it is a fantastic perversion to maintain legislation which definitely aids the Axis powers, for our interests do not lie with the Axis powers.

From the standpoint of neutrality, we are putting ourselves in a position where, once war begins, we shall either have to embargo ourselves — for that is what a general embargo against other people amounts to — or, if we lift the arms embargo after hostilities have broken out, the gesture will be interpreted as unneutral by the Axis powers. On the other hand, if we maintain the traditional policy of trusting to international law and our own wisdom, in an emergency, retaining all the military, political, and diplomatic freedom of action which that position gives us, we shall stand a much better chance of keeping out of war without cutting our own throats to do it.

The idea of keeping out of war by embargoing our own goods to belligerents is not a new one. We tried it once before in history with the most disastrous results.

That was under Mr. Jefferson's administration. The result of that policy was that we created a catastrophic depression in the United States which reached such dimensions in New England that the North Atlantic States threatened to secede from the Union; the ideological issues were fought out with such acrimony on our own soil that the country was seriously disunited; and finally we went into the war — and lost it. Washington was burned by the British and Napoleon was defeated.

I do not believe that the present legislation would stand for a week if England and France were under bombardment and their freedom and independence genuinely threatened. To create illusions and confusions at this moment in history is an irresponsibility beneath the standard of a really great nation.

But it is not enough to desire to avoid war. Even granting that war does not break out as between major powers, the civilization that we know cannot survive indefinitely the present state of af-

fairs, which is erroneously called peace. The savings of the past, the credit of the future, the lives and labor of the greater part of the population in all countries are being expended for armaments. The peoples of all countries are being propagandized to a nerve-racking point. A population cannot indefinitely sleep with gas masks at their sides. Such a misuse of the productive and psychological energies of nations cannot go forever unrevengeed. We have already reached the stage where the alternative to war is seen as revolution — another form of war, the worst form of war, civil war.

The Axis powers hope for Fascist revolutions in the democracies and are doing all they can to make them. Russia's is a sphinx-like policy. Distrustful of the western democracies, which the Communist ideology believes to be doomed capitalistic states, and nevertheless giving lip-service to democracy for the sake of the good will accruing to the Soviet Union from the working classes in those states, Russia seems more willing to challenge Japan in the East than to participate in any European defense except on her own terms. There is no question but that Britain and France are much more anxious about Germany than Soviet Russia is. By their commitments to Poland and Rumania they have already guaranteed seven hundred and fifty miles of Russia's western frontiers — and guaranteed them unilaterally. It is significant that a belt fifty miles wide along the whole length of the Soviet frontier has been evacuated by the Russians as a no-man's land. Russia, which realistically believes that war could still have been averted at the time of the Czech crisis by strong and united action, now believes that war is inevitable. And her price for aid to the democracies has gone up daily.

The western powers have made an error from the beginning in believing that Hitler's anti-Communism would inevitably lead him into a campaign against Russia or that Russia would be first in line. In a very shrewd analysis of the faults of Wilhelm's

policy, Hitler laid it down as an axiom that Germany must never again have Great Britain and Russia as enemies at the same time. Russia is therefore in a position to bargain between Germany and Great Britain.

Furthermore, it is absurd to think that the ambitions of Germany lie primarily in the east. Hitler, to be sure, envisaged in his book the conquest of part of Russia, in order to make of Germany a vast contiguous continental power containing a quarter of a billion people, with so much room that every German and the descendants of every German could have a piece of land of their own forever.

His racial and political philosophies lead him to envisage that vast continental empire as ruled by the Germanic elements, with other nationalities either driven out — as he is driving out the Jews — or reduced to serfdom.

But he wrote in 'Mein Kampf' that before this is accomplished, he must finish with France. He hoped to obtain the collaboration of Great Britain in this. His idea was that with France out of the way, Great Britain and Germany — a combination of German technological and military power and British financial and naval power — could divide the world into spheres of influence.

The decision of Great Britain to stick with France has been the only serious blow that Hitler's plans have so far received.

But this is bound to modify Hitler's attitude toward Russia. It puts the western great nations, France and Great Britain, not Russia, in the first line of fire.

But while Russia, because of the nature of her social organization, and the primitive demands of her population, can afford to wait for the western world to collapse in war, or revolution, or both, the western world, as a highly complicated, delicately adjusted, infinitely demanding, and highly interdependent civilization, cannot sustain indefinitely the present strain. A country with an already high living standard is psychologically in a more

precarious position than a country with a low living standard. With even a fractional organization of its resources, any Russian government, Communist or otherwise, can bring about some improvement of the living conditions of the population. It is not at all difficult to develop a primitive economy upward. And populations are contented as long as things are somewhat better than they were.

But a population accustomed to a high standard of living is immediately rebellious if that standard begins to decline. And it is much more difficult to keep a highly organized and developed economy stable and functioning than to start from scratch. The living standard of the western world is bound to decline unless some order can be restored in international affairs.

This applies to Germany and Italy, as well as to other states.

It is, therefore, not enough to put ourselves on the defensive against Fascism. It is necessary to have imagination enough to conceive of a world order which is practicable, and which will establish international economic justice and international prosperity, and therefore be attractive to the people of Fascist countries.

In order to work for international peace, it is necessary to have a concept at least of a peaceful and prosperous world. A peaceful and prosperous world is impossible without a far greater measure of the free exchange of goods and services than has existed since 1914. A peaceful and prosperous world is impossible with monopolized markets. It is impossible while there are millions of acres of empty land in territories habitable for white men, and while there are millions of people wandering the world without a place to lay their heads. It is impossible in a world in which gold is buried in mausoleums or frozen in banks, and in which, as among the nations with the greatest resources of technology and energy, there is no stable medium for the exchange of either goods or services.

The profound weakness of the democratic world is that, in only

slightly less measure than the totalitarian states, it is committed to economic nationalism, which in democratic terms means international anarchy. The economic nationalism of the dictatorships is in certain ways more constructive than the economic nationalism of the democracies. For the dictatorships intend to expand and vastly to enlarge the national units. By ruthless conquest and subjugation they at least seek to make the world into one kind of place and to organize it.

To refuse to take the responsibility of organizing the world at all is no answer to them. There is not in the world at present a living group of men with the vision that a few men possessed in the United States in the 1780's.

For these men could conceive of a federal system of states in which there were both freedom and order; in which there was balance without chaos; in which there was strong power without naked power or totalitarian power; in which there was unity without uniformity. Out of that concept grew our federal system; a League of Peoples from which if we had the courage of imagination, we would draw inspiration for a new kind of world.

Hitler says, in 'Mein Kampf,' 'One can only oppose an Idea with a better Idea.'

That much of what he writes is true.

The democracies will never have peace until they know what kind of peace treaty they would like to write. When the democracies can write in their own minds a peace treaty which will give justice to the people of Germany and to the people of Japan and to the people of all nations and to all people everywhere who have hands, and minds and energies which they want to use; when the democracies show themselves willing to relinquish one ounce of their national sovereignty in the interests of making an intelligently governed world; when money becomes a medium of exchange, and wealth is reckoned wholly in terms of goods produced and distributed; when it is clearly recognized that no section of this

earth can go unused, or relapse into poverty, or have its resources wasted and exploited, without a loss, sometime, in some future, to every other part of the world; when everything that is creative, enterprising, productive, civilizing is systematically supported by national and international policies, and everything that is parasitic, idle, wasteful, destructive, and greedy is systematically discouraged by those policies — then we may hope for positive peace.

Vision is needed by the democracies. It is needed more than armaments!

July 26, 1939

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